I. *Paṭa* depicting the Svayambhunāth complex. A late 17th century work providing a 'plan' of this important Newar Buddhist site. 90 x 70cm. Private collection, Paris.

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NEWAR ART

NEPALESE ART DURING THE MALLA PERIOD

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A.W. Macdonald
&
Anne Vergati Stahl

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Short Glossary

nep. = Nepali new. = Newari sk. = Sanskrit tib. = Tibetan

Āgama; sk. A general term for traditional texts.

Āgama-chē; new. *chē* signifies 'house', so the expression designates 'the house of the *Āgama*', that is to say the secret room in which a Newar household keeps the scriptures and images handed down by its ancestors.

Agni; sk. Not only the God of Fire but also fire as element.

Ākāśa; sk. Space, ether.

Amṛta; sk. Nectar of immortality.

Arhat; sk. The literal meaning is 'worthy'. The term is a designation of Śākyamuni and those of his foremost disciples who attained to *nirvāṇa*.

Āsana; sk. Seat, posture, often: seated posture.

Aṣṭami-vrata; sk. Buddhist ritual observed monthly in honour of Amoghapāśa.

Avadāna; sk. 'Heroic deed'. A class of Buddhist stories of the lives of Bodhisattvas on their progress towards Buddhahood.

Avatāra; sk. 'A descent', that is to say the apparition on earth of a divine personage come to rescue humanity from evil.

Bāhā; new. A type of Newar Buddhist monastery.

Bāhī; new. Another type of Newar Buddhist monastery.

Bal-po; tib. The Tibetan word for Newar.

Bhikṣu; sk. Buddhist mendicant.

Bhīma-ratha; sk. A Buddhist ritual observed by Newars of both sexes when an individual reaches seventy-seven years of age.

Bhū; sk. Earth.

Bīja; sk. Germ, seed, seed-grain. Mystical letter containing seed of a *mantra*.

Bindu; sk. Drop, point, dot. Seed of the universe.

Bodhi; sk. Enlightenment.

Bodhisattva; sk. A living being (*sattva*) who has vowed to attain enlightenment (*bodhi*).

Brahmā; sk. The creator of the Universe.

Brahman; sk. The supreme principle.

Buddha; sk. The Enlightened One. Can be used of any sage who has reached this goal.

Bya-rung kha-shor; tib. The Tibetan name of the large *stūpa* at Bodhnāth.

Caitya; sk. An object of veneration. In modern Newari usage it is practically a synonym for *stūpa*. In former times it appears to have been used to designate a shrine with trees and stones.

Cakra; sk. A circle, a ring, a discus. The emblem of Viṣṇu. Also one of the nerve-centres of the subtle body as described in texts of *Yoga* and in *Tantra*.

Cakravartin; sk. In brahmanical usage: 'who has a wheel which turns'. The Buddha alone turned the wheel of the law. The general, derived meaning is 'emperor'.

Chē; new. House.

Chhepā; new. name of Garuḍa's brother.

Darśana; sk. From the root *dṛś* 'to see'. A vision, a view, a perception, a theory, a philosophical doctrine.

Dega; new. Newari word for temple of pagoda type.

Devatā; sk. Deity, divinity.

Devī; sk. Name of any goddess but particularly, in Hinduism, of the female energy of Śiva, adored by Śaktas. She has both benign and destructive aspects.

Dhāraṇī; sk. Formula of mystic syllables containing (the root *dhṛ* means 'to hold') the essence of a Buddha, a Bodhisattva or a teaching.

Dharma; sk. Established, universal order and law. In Buddhism, the truth about the world as contained in the Buddha's teachings.

Dhyāna; sk. Meditative concentration with a divine intent.

Digu-dyo; new. Lineage divinity which is worshipped once a year by Newars. Its shrine is outside the limits of a built-up locality.

Dīkṣā; Initiation, but in particular the initiation which sanctions the entry of the *āgama-chē* and the participation in the cult of the gods whose images it contains.

Durgā; sk. 'The inaccessible, the far-off'. Epithet and name of the goddess who was constituted by all the gods and armed with their weapons in order to defeat the Asuras who were troubling the Hindu order of the world.

Dyo; new. God, divinity, deity.

Dyo-chē; new. House of god. Temple in which the statue of a deity is housed.

Gaja; sk. Elephant.

Gajur; nep. Pinnacle on roof of temple.

Garbha-gṛha; sk. Innermost sanctuary of a temple where the divinity is housed.

Garuḍa; sk. Mythical bird, vehicle or mount of Viṣṇu, and traditional enemy of snakes.

Gātha; new. Newar caste of gardeners.

Ghāṭ; nep. Cremation-place; crossing place or ford of river.

Hari; sk. 'Remover of sins'. One of Viṣṇu's epithets and names.

Hīnayāna; sk. 'The Lesser Way'. Designation of the earliest system of Buddhist teachings.

I-hy; new. Name of initiation ceremony for young Newar girls at which, before reaching puberty, they are married to Viṣṇu. Literally, 'marriage'.

Jātaka; sk. A class of Buddhist stories which relate the previous lives of Gautama Buddha.

Jātrā; nep. Procession, festival. Usually the occasion of a visit by a god to his faithful or of a god by his faithful.

Jina; sk. 'Conqueror'. Term used to designate Śakyamuni and the Five Tathāgatās, often referred to in European works as the Five Dhyani-Buddhas.

Jñāna; sk. Spiritual knowledge gained through experience.

Kalpa; sk. An age of a universe in a series of universes. An immense period of time.

Karma. sk. Action, but also moral duty. Fate is determined by actions accomplished in past lives.

Karmācārya; sk. Name of caste of Newar officiants (Ācāju) who carry out temple and domestic ceremonies.

Kusle; new. Name of Newar caste. The caste is low but clean. Previously *jogis*, they are now tailors and musicians.

Kutuwa; new. Guardian.

Layaku; new. Palace.

Līlā; sk. Play, amusement, sport. The creation of the world is the *līlā* of the gods.

Liṅga; sk. Sign, mark, phallus, person. Symbol of Śiva.

Mahāyāna; sk. 'Great Vehicle'. The more recent Buddhist system of the Northern schools.

Makara; sk. The crocodile-like mount of Varuṇa, in Hinduism.

Maṇḍala; sk. Circle, district, diagram of a universe.

Mantra; sk. Formulae composed of Sanskrit syllables which, when correctly uttered, mobilise divine energies.

Māyā; sk. Illusion, unreality; sometimes contrasted with the reality of the *Puruṣa*.

Mkhyen-ris; tib. Name of school of Tibetan painting.

Mokṣa; sk. Liberation from the cycle of re-births.

Mudrā; sk. Literally 'seal'. Bodily gesture, particularly of the hands and fingers, expressing a particular state of mind.

Muni; sk. Sage, seer.

Nāga; sk. Mythical snake. They rule in the underworlds where the Seṣ-nāga supports the earth.

Pagoda; An "obscure and remarkable" English word on which see H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, p. 652-657. We have used the word in our text to refer to temples with tiered roofs such as are found in Nepal, in parts of India (Kerala, the Kangra Valley) and in China and Japan.

Paṭa; sk. Painted cloth.

Pāṭi; nep. Rest-house. (new. phalеccha)

Patibāhāra; new. Old Newar word for *paubha*.

Paubha; new. Painted cloth.

Phuki; new. Lineage.

Pīṭha; sk. Seat of a divinity. Newars use the word to designate the open sanctuaries of the *mātṛkā* outside built-up limits.

Poḍe. Newar caste of fishermen and scavengers.

Pradakṣiṇā; sk. Circumambulation, in a clock-wise direction, of a divine object, image or person.

Prāṇa; sk. Life-breath of an individual or of a universe. There are five of these.

Purāṇa; sk. Texts of encyclopaedic content, dealing with such matters as the creation and the destruction of the world, the great deeds of ascetics, heroes, kings and gods. There are eighteen main Sanskrit texts of this type.

Puruṣa; sk. Man, man. From the sacrifice by the gods of the *Mahā-Puruṣa* the creation was diversified.

Śabda; sk. Sound, word.

Sādhana; sk. 'Accomplishment', that is to say the bringing into one's presence of one's chosen divinity so that he may fulfil one's aspirations.

Śakti; sk. Energy, power of a divinity or a human being.

Samādhi; sk. Concentration on a divine purpose, trance.

Saṃsāra; sk. The endless circle of re-births and universes.

Śāstra; sk. Treatise, sacred text.

Sattal; new. Rest-house where music is played.

Siddhi; sk. 'Perfection'. Success acquired through Yoga, worship and correct ritual performances.

Śmaśāna; sk. Sacred cremation place or burial ground.

Stūpa; sk. A stylized monument, symbolizing the Buddha's teaching and recalling his life and example. Its historical antecedents, from which it derived, were royal grave-mounds and the Vedic fire-altar (*agnicayana* sk.)

Śūnyatā; sk. The void, emptiness, vacuity.

Tantra; sk. Warp, thread. In Hinduism, Agamic dialogues between Śiva and Śakti. In Buddhism, tantra are ranged in four grades: *kriya-*, *carya-*, *yoga-* and *anuttarayoga-*.

Tathāgata; sk. Literally 'He who came thus'. Synonym for a Buddha. Used for the Five 'Directional' Buddhas.

Thang-ka; tib. Literally 'one plain': a two-dimensional projection, a painting.

Toraṇa; sk. Decoration of wood, metal or stone, placed above a door-way or other passage through a wall.

Vāhana; sk. Vehicle, especially of the gods.

Vajra; sk. Originally Indra's thunderbolt which became the special weapon of Vajrapāṇi. The *vajra* symbolises not only immense power but also the indestructability of the Buddhist doctrine.

Vajrayāna; sk. The Vajra Vehicle: the most complex development of the *Mahāyāna*.

Veda; sk. The Four Vedas are the *Ṛg*, the *Yajus*, the *Sama* and the *Atharva*. Along with the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* they constitute the revelation on which Hinduism is based.

Vidyādhara; sk. 'Holder of knowledge'. A class of minor divinities.

Vihāra; sk. A Buddhist monastery

Yajña; sk. Sacrifice to the gods.

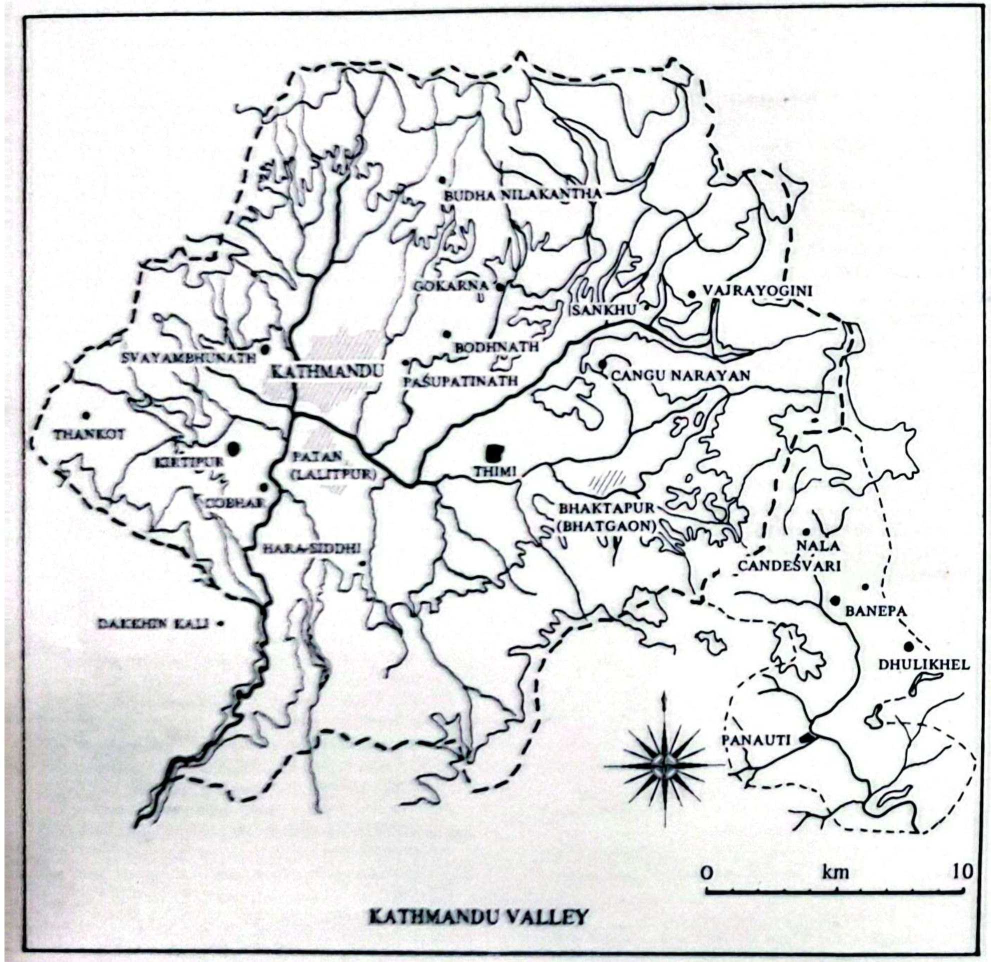
Yantra; sk. A geometrical diagram enclosing the divine principle, or one of its aspects.

Yoga; sk. Union, the yoking together, by breath control and other exercises of the individual with the supreme spirit.

Yoginī/Joginī; sk. and nep. Female yogins. More commonly the designation of protective divinities associated with the Sakti cult.

Yoni; sk. Triangle, the female organ and its symbols, in particular: the sign of Guhyesorī.

Yuga; sk. An age of the world. In theory there are four of these, the *Satya*, the *Tretyā*, the *Dvāpara* and the *Kali*. We are in the last, and most decadent.



Kathmandu: Newari, Yẽ.
Bhaktapur: Newari, Kopay.
Patan: Newari, Yẽ le.

Introduction

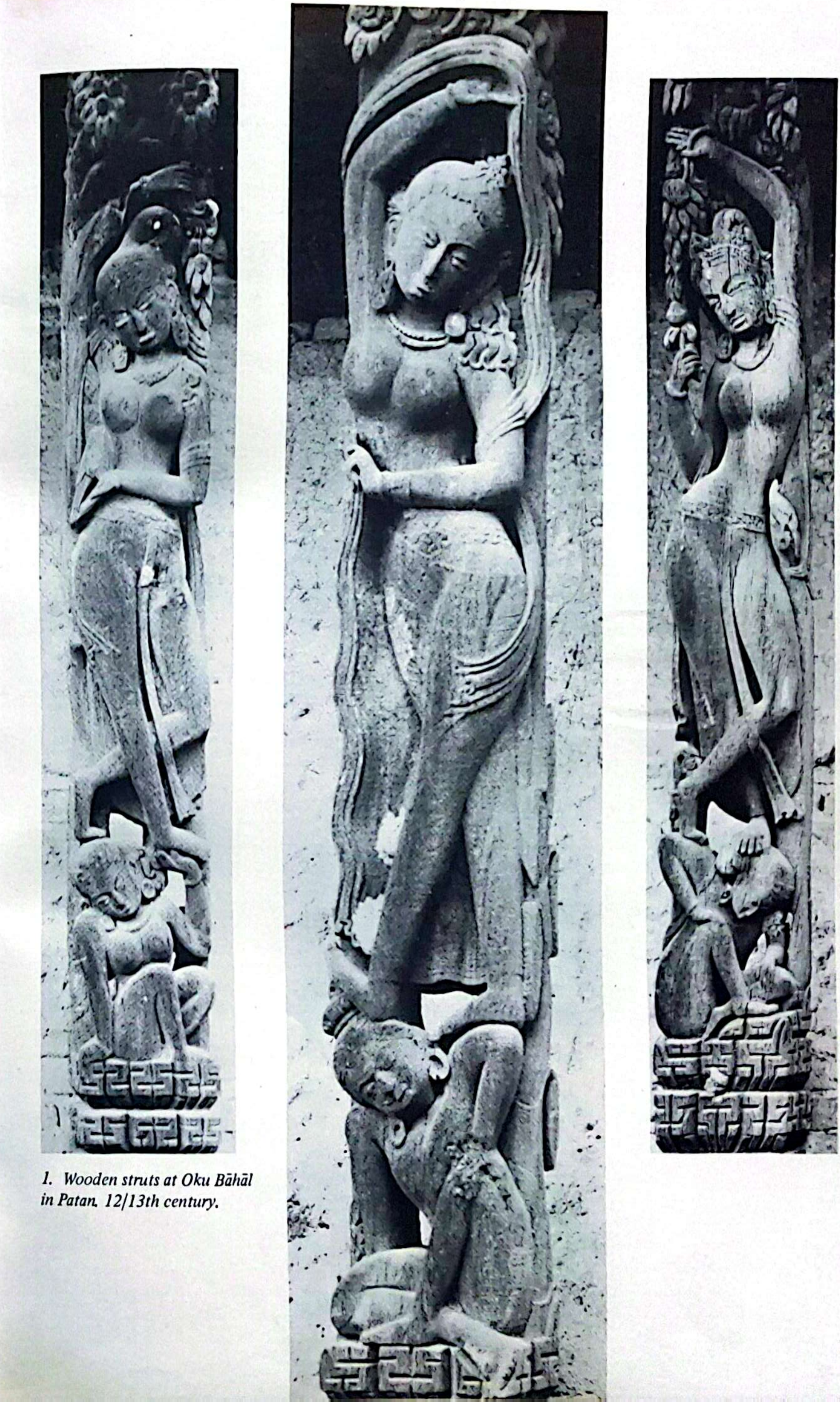
Since the opening up of Nepal to foreign research in 1951, our knowledge of that country, of its civilisation and of its many varied cultures has widened considerably. However we must emphasize at the outset that western knowledge about Nepal has been accumulated in a manner quite different to that in which knowledge was previously built up in the west about India. In the latter case, the Vedic aspect or, if one prefers the use of a rather out-of-date term, the Aryan element in Indian culture was studied deeply in the west, particularly in its literary aspects, long before extensive written knowledge was acquired about the tribal areas and the rural populations. In India, the philologist and the archaeologist may be said to have preceded the anthropologist. For instance, in the fields of language and religion, classical Indian studies were already far advanced when Sylvain Lévi and Jean Przyluski began their explorations of "pre-Aryan" India. In Nepal, on the contrary, once foreign research got under way, we have learned more and faster about the rural, non-literate, outlying Northern areas than we have about the Sanskritised Hindu and Buddhist elements of the valley. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, John Hitchcock, David Snellgrove, Corneille Jest, Philippe Sagant and Lionel Caplan[1] had already taught us much about life in the Highlands before any full-length study of a Brahman group resident in the valley had been undertaken, and as yet there is only one monograph devoted to a study of Newar society.[2]

Archaeological research in the valley, when one compares it to the achievements of the Archaeological Survey of India, is still in its infancy. Moreover studies in Sanskritization, which have known great favour in India in recent years, are still quite rare in Nepal.[3] Sylvain Lévi, Luciano Petech and Giuseppe Tucci[4] worked, it is true, in the valley before the coming of the anthropological input and its relatively large, written output. However the anthropologists have not worked alone; and the very development of western studies has led to a curious dismemberment of Nepal between the tenants of various academic disciplines. Art historians, geographers, geologists and political scientists - to name only a few of the specialized breeds - have divided the country up amongst themselves in such a manner that it is at present difficult to see Nepal as a developing whole or as a structural unity. No anthropologist to date has sought to embrace the entire country in his research[5] whereas his colleagues at work in India attempt, with greater or less success, to dominate an entire sub-continent. One consequence of this dismantlement has been that temples and monuments and shrines, not to speak of the art they shelter, have scarcely occupied any place in the works of western anthropologists in Nepal. Another consequence is that art historians have shown little interest in the life-styles, the ceremonies, and the beliefs of the local peoples who use these buildings. Yet the latter, and the divine representations grouped in and around them, are an integral part of the religious and social landscape. Their presence and maintenance are as vital to the local cultures as the presence of the priest or the healer; and diachronically they are more enduring. So although the title of this book, *Newar Art,* may seem a straightforward enough indication of what the reader is about to peruse, a few words of explanation concerning what we set out to do and what we have not attempted may not be out of place. There are, to be sure, many books which provide excellent photographs of isolated buildings, of particular monuments and statues and paintings and of a diversity of art objects. In 1961, D. L. Snellgrove published two short but substantial articles in which the accent was put on Buddhist creations.[6] Three years later Stella Kramrisch published an important catalogue in which the first real attempt was made to establish serious chronological criteria.[7] In 1966 the catalogue of the remarkable Heeramaneck collection was published;[8] and in 1969 appeared the English translation of the Waldschmidts' book in which many important pieces in Nepalese collections were made known to a wider public.[9] W. Korn has recently published in Kathmandu a book containing many useful plans and drawings.[10] Very recently also an inventory of the principal religious edifices of the Kathmandu Valley has been published under the auspices of UNESCO and the Austrian Federal Government;[11] and this makes the identification in space, if not the determination in time, of the majority of these monuments a relatively simple matter for the student or the tourist. Moreover, in what is in many respects the most scholarly book yet devoted to Nepalese art, the *Sculpture of Nepal* has been thoroughly examined by P. Pal.[12] Meanwhile, in learned periodicals, articles concerning various technical and stylistic problems of Nepalese art and architecture - notably those by Mary Slusser - are beginning to appear with greater frequency.[13] Yet despite these and other useful contributions to knowledge, little attempt seems to have been made to date to situate Newar art and architecture in the local cultural context. One still sees the label "Nepalese" attached with great frequency in the major art museums of the world to objects which were undoubtedly Newar creations at a period in time when political Nepal did not exist in its present limits and when the very concept of Nepal as a political or social entity was as vague in its formulation as it was contradictory in its application.

In an attempt to restore a more just balance, we have sought in this book to focus on some of the social aspects of Newar art. We have emphasized the needs it meets and the ends it serves not only for the Newar common man but also for his society and for his gods. We have examined briefly the geographical and historical context of its creation; and we have throughout linked Newar art to Newar beliefs. Such an approach, we admit, is not entirely new. In the second edition of *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* which was published in London as far back as 1910, James Fergusson stated bluntly: "The real point of interest in the architecture of Nepal to the true student of the art lies in its ethnographic meaning".[14] He was speaking of the Valley, that is to say of those Newar creations of which he had knowledge. Again Percy Brown in his *Picturesque Nepal,* London, 1912, stressed that "the art of the Newars is essentially a religious art, ordained and consecrated to the service of the country's creeds . . . Not only," he continues, "is Nepalese art of an intensely religious character, but hand in hand with this it is also supremely symbolic; there is no "unmeaning ornament", almost every element in its composition being emblematic of the creed it adorns. In other words, art was utilized by the priestcraft to catch the eye of the illiterate many, to put before those who could not read, a visible tangible object which illustrated a legend or emphasized a dogma. And to do this it required to be powerfully dramatic, to depict to the masses the Good and the Bad in its most graphic and forceful interpretation, so that the Nepalese artist either elevates the observer by the transcendental nature of his celestial conceptions, or terrorizes him into docility by his suggestions of purgatory. It is an art, therefore, as far as the people themselves are concerned which inspires awe and veneration and is worshipped rather than admired".[15]

In viewing Newar art from the standpoint of "the people themselves"; in underlining its functional role in Newar society; in stressing its indissoluble links with "the country's creeds" and, above all, in stressing the "powerfully dramatic" nature of this art, Percy Brown strikes us as, for his time, a very acute observer and we have attempted in the following pages to follow up and to refine certain of his suggestions. In doing so we do not pretend to have written a history of Newar art. Much has been left unsaid and many important works have not been studied with the detailed attention they certainly deserve. However by drawing together in one general picture the multiple facets of Newar artistic creativity, we hope to draw public attention to an art which is much admired by westerners but little studied. In a ritual well-known to specialists of the art of Indian Asia, the eyes of a statue are opened after its technical preparation is completed.[16] Our hope is to help the visitor to Nepal to view with greater discernment the finished products of an art unique in the Himalaya.

The task is certainly no easy one; and it can only be accomplished once a certain amount of information has been passed in review and digested. It is taken for granted these days that when an anthropologist decides to work in a given area he will specialise for some years in anthropological facts and theories, will learn at least one language spoken in the area of his enquiry before residing for a considerable period among the people he has elected to study. To his book-learning he will add first-hand experience acquired in the field. His note-books will ultimately be packed with kinship



1. Wooden struts at Oku Bāhāl in Patan. 12/13th century.

systems, with local beliefs, with social, economic and demographic statistics. When he returns to his study to write up his material, these notes will bring back to him not only facts but also the hopes and fears, the problems and the sorrows of those whose existence he was privileged to share. His view of the role of art in the culture he has studied will form an integral part of his knowledge of that culture. It must be admitted that many books written in the West on Asian art do not devote much space to putting the general reader in the local picture. On the one hand, there is the highly technical book addressed to fellow-specialists and concerned with such abstract, academic matters as the evolution of particular motifs over a certain period of time; on the other hand, there is the picture-book, which summons up all the technical skills of modern photography and printing techniques to provoke - out of context - an aesthetic thrill in the reader's eye and mind. In many western museums too, statues, ritual objects and decorative elements are often presented in such a manner that their local, cultural relevance is completely obliterated. The rare, the quaint, the beautiful are set up for admiration in a setting where the hurried visitor, after a few moments of cursory examination, cannot possibly appraise the significance of what he is observing.

To understand an art and architecture so different from our own as that of the Newars of Nepal requires time. Indeed part of the difficulty of the subject of our study lies not so much in the strangeness and complexity of Newar art as in the mental habits and attitudes of its western viewers. For we are dealing essentially in Newar culture with forms which were created by the stimulus of religious beliefs. These forms may appear to us as artistic manifestations; but this was not their primary purpose. A well-known Himalayan specialist has recently written that "archeologists and art historians may perhaps conceive of religious images and paintings as primarily objects of artistic interest. This certainly tends to be a modern, western view deriving ultimately, one supposes, from the purer forms of Jewish monotheistic faith and the prophetic diatribes against the worship of false gods but certainly further developed by Protestant reformers. It seems now", he continues, "that modern man has almost lost altogether the idea of a divine image as sign and symbol, that is to say as an outward representation of a divine being who is essentially irreducible to human representation. Not only those who are sceptical about the ultimate value or religion in any form but also simple believers seem generally to have lost this symbolic sense . . . In modern usage the 'stereotyped' tends to be pejorative so far as all art, even religious art, is concerned. By contrast traditional oriental art, just as was Christian art up to the 13th or even 14th century, is unashamedly stereotyped, and so too is the liturgy which goes together with it. A symbol cannot be other than stereotyped, if it is always to carry the same significance. Its intention is precisely to draw the attention of the worshippers away from the distracting diversity of the everyday world and to assist him in concentrating his thought, through the medium of stereotyped words and stereotyped images, upon divine transcendant realities." [17] These words strike us as particularly apt when applied to Newar civilisation. And one of our main objectives has been to explain the attraction which certain stereotyped models have exercised over many centuries on men's minds in a small valley where life has long been lived in a social and cultural milieu very different from that of present-day European civilisation.

Let us illustrate some differences between Newar and western society by considering western practices in matters of housing, displaying and, on occasion, hiding art objects. In the west, art objects circulate not only from hand to hand but also through a variety of social institutions such as the art gallery, the exhibition, the private collection and the museum. We tend to take the existence of such institutions for granted; and we expect to find them in other societies. However, during the period we are studying, no exactly comparable institutions existed among the Newars. Institutions such as Buddhists monasteries and Hindu temples, and corporate associations such as *guṭhi* undoubtedly possessed both statues and paintings; and some individuals - kings, courtiers, a few affluent merchants and successful feudatories - undoubtedly held similar objects privately. But by and large Newar society does not seem to have established at that time the equation which is today so deep-rooted in western society between the artistic and the financial value of art objects. In Newar society the finest creations were placed on occasion, and sometimes permanently, in the street, on the temple wall, in the square, for all the passers-by to see. Paintings will still be hung on temple and *vihāra* walls on the occasion of the Buddha's birthday; and certain statues are taken in procession through streets with night-time stopover halts at determined points of a town, at particular dates in the ar. One cannot imagine that much-travelled lady, the *Mona Lisa,* being exposed to the public gaze the Place de la Concorde because the President of the Republic was due to pass that way. But in

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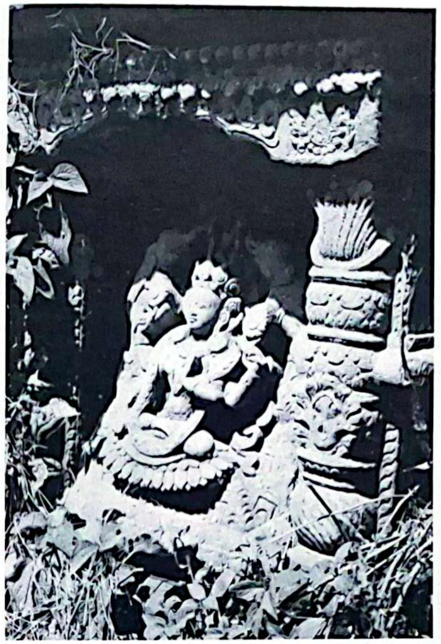
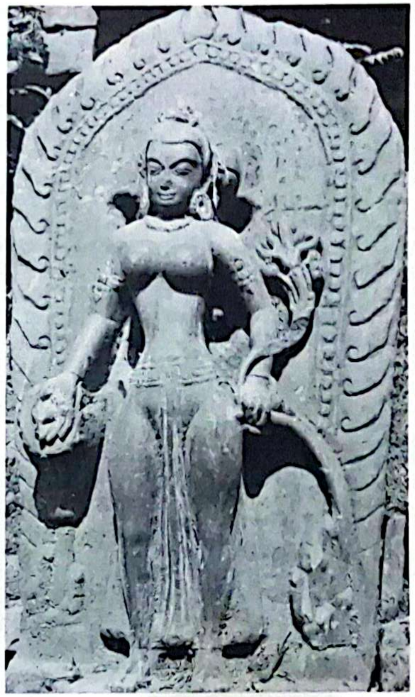
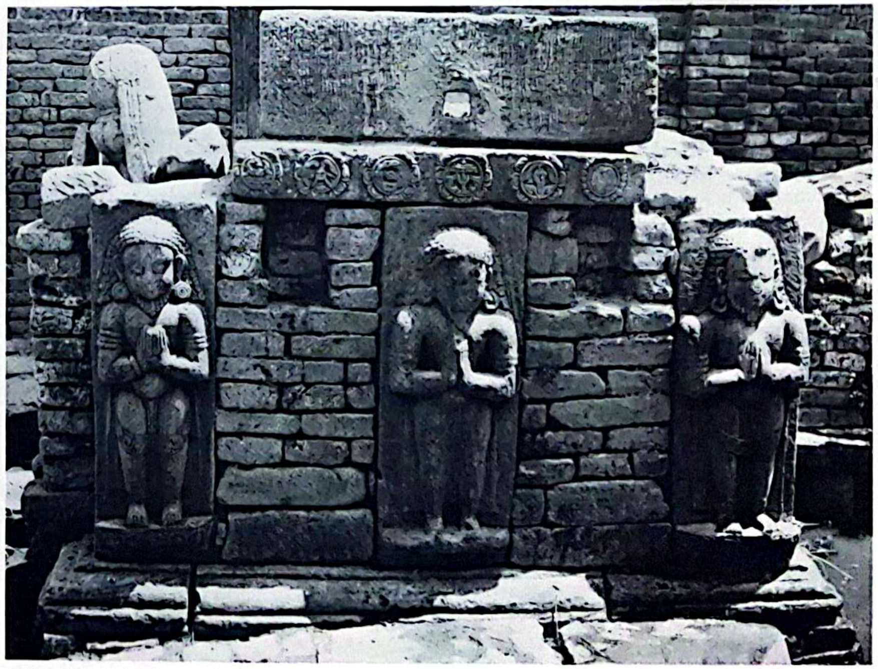


2. *Stone sculpture of Gaja Lakṣmī at public bathing-place close by Tripurasundarī* dyo-chẽ *in Bhaktapur. 16th cent.*



3. *Stone Devī at Nala. 12th century.*



4. *Stone sculpture at fountain close by Hara Siddhi temple. Bagirath?*

Nepal many of the finest painted banners in the valley will be exposed to public view on such occasions as a royal coronation or the sovereign's return to the valley after a state visit to a foreign power. It is true that the sight of certain images was and is reserved, among the Newars, to initiates. But such images were not esteemed for their artistic or their financial value but because of their spiritual potency. In fact their artistic quality is often very indifferent. By and large the Newars have never paid money directly in order to see the finest products of their civilisation. Newar art therefore is not something which is enclosed in special enclaves. It is a directly accessible aspect of human experience, just as making a living, looking at a landscape or a show, chatting to one's fellows, praying to one's gods, conforming to certain norms of social behaviour and culinary custom are also part of the same experience. Newar art is certainly a product of Newar society. But few Newars, and only those from the specialised artisanal caste-groups, create it whereas many others are influenced by it. It is therefore not only a product but also a process in their society, a society which itself is in constant change from generation to generation.

It was suggested some years ago by a well-known anthropologist that "art is to be thought of as any embellishment of ordinary living that is achieved with competence and has describable form". [18] While satisfactory in some respects, this definition founders in its practical applications because "embellishment" will be defined contradictorily by individual viewers in the social context in which they make their judgements. A rain-coat will be considered as an embellishment by a hill-peasant who doesn't possess one, not only during the monsoon but also during the period when he is awaiting its arrival. Moreover beauty is conceived of more subjectively in Nepal than in the west which has deified and objectivated beauty in a manner quite alien to Newar thought and modes of expression. Professor D. H. Ingalls once pointed out that Keats' affirmation:

> *A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;*
> *Its loveliness increases; it will never*
> *Pass into nothingness . . .*

would ring strangely in Indian ears, for "Lakṣmī, the guardian of beauty as well as of wealth and royalty, has always been regarded as a fickle goddess". [19] Keats' poem would seem strange to Newars also: for they do not think of beauty as permanent. Beauty is not separated in local thought from the men and women it affects.

In pre-industrial Newar society, art was produced by artisans who, on the whole, worked to fulfil orders. We do not mean by this that there was no local artistic inspiration, only that artistic inspiration was neither cultivated nor admired so intensively as is the case in the west today. 'Art for art's sake' is a western perspective. It is true that today many Newar products are turned out in quantity for an unknown client, and the old relationship between patron and executant is being rapidly modified. But in previous times, the times with which we deal in this book, Newar art was the embodiment of spiritual forces which were generally believed to sustain law and order and served to diffuse it. It was one of the means by which the world, that is to say the local landscape, the local society, and the local gods, were fashioned and kept in order. Now order implies that there are rules to be obeyed: the *dharma*, the local expression of that order, is not merely descriptive, it is also normative. Again, *dharma* is to be thought of at two levels, that which is particular, relative, personal - the *svadharma*: and that which is general, absolute, common - *sādhāraṇa*. Art can be thought of as a technique for making these two levels coincide. [20] So we shall use the term art in this book to refer to those publicly accessible artifacts which were instruments of hierarchisation, prestige and "purity" in those state ceremonials which formed and maintained Newar culture in the past and which have, to a not inconsiderable extent, given form and content to Nepalese civilisation. [21]

In our opinion, Nepal was hinduised by displaying and informing, by looking and listening, rather than by the dissemination and the reception of written messages. Even today, after twenty-five years of foreign aid and technical assistance, only 23% of the male and 4% of the female, that is 13% of the total population of Nepal are literate in Nepali. It seems evident that the mass of the wars did not become Hindus and Buddhists through reading books or inscriptions. Certainly the oks are there, in libraries, in monasteries and in temples. They have been preciously conserved for uries in places and in scripts to which the common people have had no access. Sanskrit and Newar technical treaties on such subjects as the conduct of religious ceremonies, astronomy and medicine, lie there alongside the great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *purāṇas* and much else besides; and in the streets of the towns and the by-lanes of the countryside Sanskrit inscriptions in stone abound, not to speak of those copper-plate royal decrees whose existence was more ephemeral. But who reads them? Who used to read them? The number of individuals capable of deciphering their significance today is minute. They are and were available to an elite - more numerous in the past than today - who could read and write Sanskrit and Newari and, more recently, Nepali. Sanskrit in present-day Nepal is, to a greater extent than it ever was, the language of the gods rather than of men. Certainly this written corpus of knowledge was carefully stored and preserved. It formed, as it were, a bank of ideas from which the learned pandits could draw the money of their spiritual change, and into which they sometimes paid their own contributions. It was a body of reference for the sacrificial rituals, for the public cults, for determining the construction of public buildings, which its consultants interpreted and placed at the service of the unifying, centralising monarchies. In the state ceremonials of which we spoke above, architecture, town-planning, sculpture, painting, and woodwork as well as the arts of costume and of ornamentation were mobilised by the sovereigns to promote their states. If art was, in essence, religious, its influence in a deeply religious country was not only religious: the social and political consequences of its exercise in the hands of a Hindu monarch (there are no Buddhist kings in the history of Nepal) were considerable. It spoke to the people in images, and this was a language which could be much more widely grasped and relayed than that employed for verbal and written communications within and without the court circles. [22] In a world where there were no newspapers, no advertisements, no publicity, no mass media, its impact must have been forceful. That impact was reinforced because the art was to be seen at pilgrimage sites, at holy places, in an atmosphere of collective excitement, when villagers, often from many days' march away across the hills, assembled for the festival of a local god, great in their eyes because present in a valley in which was centered royal power, and who must have been almost as astonished by the sight of one another as they were moved by the verbal explanations, often incompletely understood, of the local temple attendant or the priest in exercise. The *darśana* of the support or image of a god by the men, women and children who approach it to worship, is the moment which is capital for understanding the effect of the creations of Hindu and Buddhist art. Art is not only certain objects made by men: it is what other men make of these objects. The scholar sees the objects with an eye to describe, to inventory, to classify. The devotee recognizes in them aspects of the order of the universe. He not only sees them; he perceives in them elements of a divine order with which he seeks to associate himself.

Notes

1. The reader will find the works of these industrious authors, whose researches are marginal to the subject of the present study, listed up to 1973 in L. Boulnois & H. Millot, *Bibliographie du Nepal*, vol. 1, *Sciences Humaines, Réferences en langues européennes*, Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969, and in L. Boulnois, vol. 1, *Supplément 1967-1973*, Paris, Editions du C. N. R. S., 1975. The short list of authors we have cited is not intended as discriminative and other names might well be added. Snellgrove is a cultural historian whereas the other authors are anthropologists. However it cannot be denied that Snellgrove has contributed as much as any anthropologist to our knowledge of those northern Nepalese groups which are impregnated with Tibetan, Buddhist culture. On Jean Przyluski see A. W. Macdonald and Marcelle Lalou *L'Oeuvre de Jean Przyluski* Paris, Adrien Maisoneuve 1970.
2. Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars, An Ethno-Sociological Study of a Himalayan Community*, Bombay, United Asia Publications, 1965.
3. Rex L. Jones recently published a study on Sanskritization in Eastern Nepal in *Ethnology*, 15, p. 63-75. For further reference, see Prayag Raj Sharma, 'Caste, Social Mobility and Sanskritization: A study of Nepal's old legal Code' in *Kailash*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1977, p. 276-299.
4. S. Lévi, *Le Népal, Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*, 3 volumes, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1905-1908, in the series Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, t.XVII, XVIII, XIX. Part I of the 'History of Nepal' which appeared in Lévi's second volume has been translated into English with useful additional notes by Theodore Riccardi, Jr., and published in *Kailash, A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, vol. III, n° I, Kathmandu, 1975, p. 11-60; L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal* (*c. 750-1480*), Rome, Istituto per il medio ed estremo Oriente, Serie Orientale Roma 10, n° 3, 1958; and G. Tucci, *Rati-līla, An Interpretation of Tantric Imagery of the temples of Nepal*, Geneva, Nagel, 1969.
5. For a general view of western research, see A. W. Macdonald 'Sociology and Anthropology in Nepal' in *Social Science in Nepal*, Kirtipur, Tribhuvan University Press, 1974, p. 27-37.
6. 'Shrines and Temples of Nepal' in *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1961, t. VIII, fasc. I, p. 3-10; fasc. 2, p. 93-120.
7. *The Art of Nepal*, New York, The Asia Society, 1964.
8. John Rosenfield *et al.*, *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1966.
9. E. and R. L. Waldschmidt, *Nepal, Art Treasures from the Himalayas*, London, Elek Books, 1969, translated by D. Wilson from *Nepal, Kunst aus der Königreich im Himalaja*, Verlag Aurel Bongers Recklingshausen, 1967.

10. Wolfgang Korn, *The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley*, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series III, vol. II, 1976.
11. *Kathmandu Valley, The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, A Protective Inventory*, 2 volumes. (Coordination and Production: C. Pruscha), Vienna, Anton Schroll and Co., 1975.
12. Pratapaditya Pal, *The Arts of Nepal, Part I, Sculpture*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974.
13. In this context one should mention the growing number of contributions from Nepalese authors such as the contributors to the review *Pûrnimâ*, published in Nepal.
14. J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, John Murray, 1910, Book II, ch. II, p. 274-275.
15. P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1912, p. 127, 129-130. This book was reprinted at New Delhi in 1971 by Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers.
16. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Second Edition, New York, Pantheon Books, 1956, p. 70-75 and A. W. Macdonald, *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series III, vol. 3, 1975, p 79, note II.
17. David L. Snellgrove, 'Indo-Tibetan liturgy and its relationship to iconography' in *Mahayanist Art after A.D. 900*, edited by William Watson, London, no date, being Colloquies on Art and Archeology in Asia, n⁰ 2, School of Oriental and African Studies, p. 36-45. The quotation is from p. 41.
18. M. Herskovitz, *Cultural Anthropology*, New York, A. A. Knopf, 1964, p. 234.
19. D. H. Ingalls, 'Words for Beauty in Classical Sanskrit Poetry' in *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown*, New Haven, American Oriental Series, vol. XLVII, p. 106.
20. We know that in Hindu Law a sovereign should not seek to modify local custom although the history of India provides many examples of such modifications. See the interesting chapter on Dharma and Custom in R. Lingat, *The classical law of India*, translated from the French by J. D. M. Derrett, London, University of California Press, 1973, p. 176-206.
21. This definition is purposefully limitative and specifically excludes the minor arts of the goldsmith, the jeweller, the blacksmith and the dyer which we regard as marginal to the theme of this book.
22. For a recent view of the multiplicity of languages and dialects in Nepal, see Richard D. Hugoniot (editor), *A Bibliographical Index of the lesser known languages of India and Nepal*, Waxhaw, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1970.

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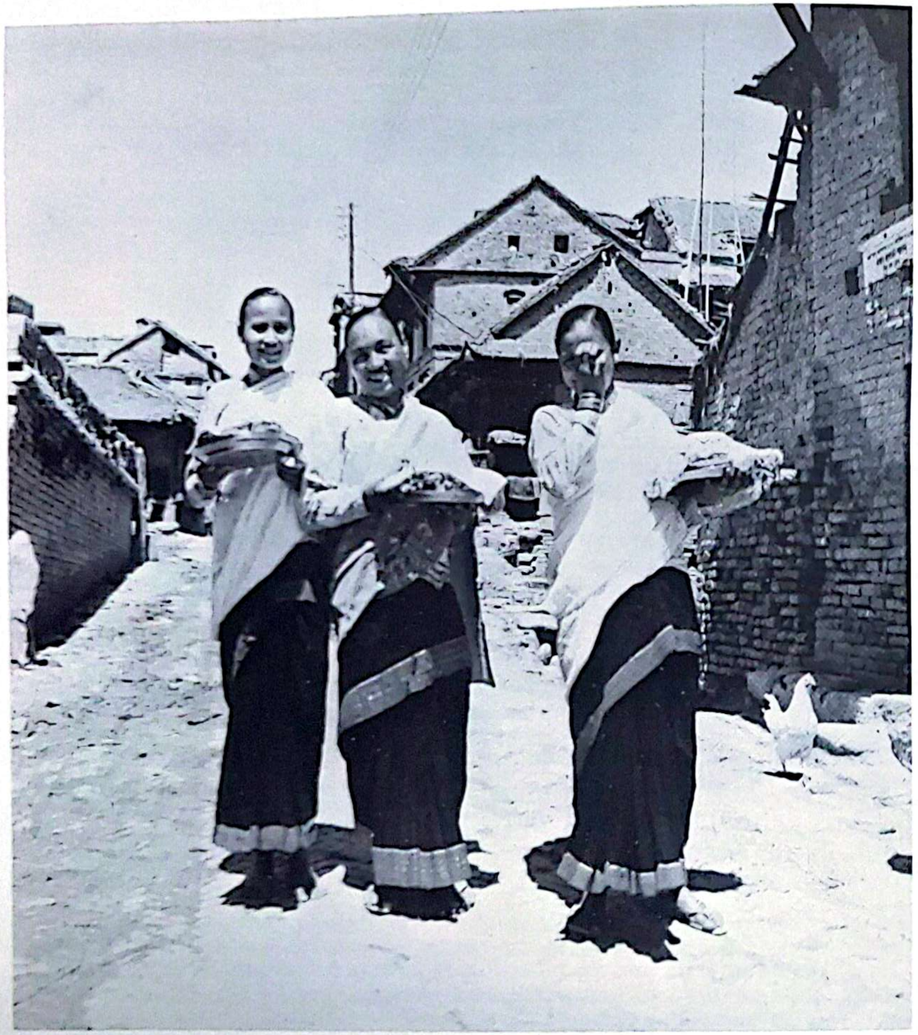
The Stage & its Setting

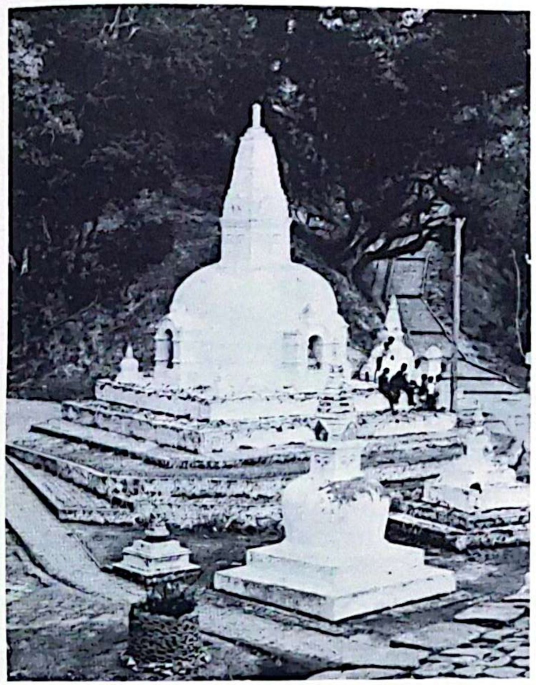
First of all let us begin by introducing the reader to the Newar people and their setting. The bulk of the Newars live in a valley situated roughly in the geographical centre of present-day Nepal. This valley lies at an altitude of 4,500 ft.; it is roughly oval in shape and quite small, being only 250 square miles in extent. It can be crossed easily on foot in a day's walk. The valley is extremely fertile, with dark, alluvial soil which enables the local farmers to obtain very high yields of rice from its intensively-cultivated, irrigated paddy fields. The population density is high, over 2,000 to the square mile. The Newars are basically farmers, and very good farmers. Three harvests a year are common from this land. In winter one finds barley, wheat and mustard; in the springtime radishes, potatoes and garlic; in the rainy season maize and, above all, rice. Human and animal excrement have for centuries provided natural manure; and it is only recently that chemical fertilizers have begun to be used on any scale.[1] The agricultural instruments of the Newars are simple. They do not traditionally use the plough but employ in its stead a solid hoe. This hoe, along with the carrying perch which is slung across the shoulders and from which are suspended by cords two saucer-like baskets, single out the Newar from the other inhabitants of the valley and make him easily distinguishable. By and large the land of the valley can be divided into two main categories which have nothing to do with the natural richness of the soil. On the one hand, there is the type of land situated near a river or stream and which is sure to be flooded during the rains, and which can also be irrigated during the dry season. On the other hand, there is the type of land which because of its situation does not have this natural advantage. Irrigation techniques are highly developed. Streams which course down the mountain-flanks are captured at different levels and fork out into multiple channels. Thanks to such devices rice cultivation has ascended the slopes of the hills surrounding the valley, giving them the appearance of great, buttressed amphitheatres.

This valley lies at roughly the same latitude as Florida and its vegetation is semi-tropical: sugar-cane, pineapples, bananas, mangos, in addition to European fruits such as lemons, apples and oranges, grow well in this climate. Grapes, too, are beginning to be cultivated. The floor of the valley is relatively flat - it seems very flat indeed when one comes there from the hills - if somewhat irregular. In many areas there are small hillocks, encircled or gouged through by streams. The colours of the valley-floor change from season to season. During the rains, the rice-fields and terraces are many shades of vivid green. In winter much of the land is brown, with green patches of bamboo thickets and yellow patches where wheat grows. In the spring, yellow is the dominant note struck by the mustard blossom; pale green re-appears in early summer with the growth of the rice seedlings. Scattered throughout the valley are stone and mud-brick houses. Their roofs are thatched or tiled. Many of their walls are rusty-brown at the base and white in the upper half. Villages cluster not only on the valley-floor but also on the surrounding ridges and hill-tops. It is a beautiful land if a hard one; and it is easy to understand the affection-loaded adjective with which its inhabitants couple it when they speak of "*our* Nepal".

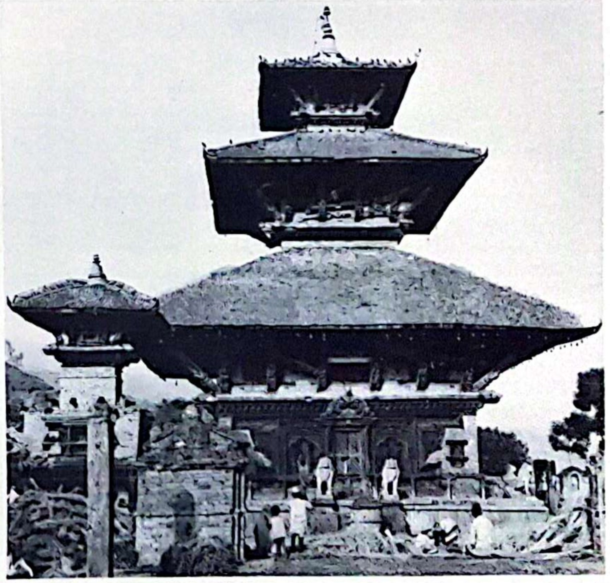
To the north, on a clear day, can be seen several of the high peaks of the Himālaya, which are only thirty or forty miles distant from the valley. Such clear days continue from November to March, when the atmosphere is not heavy with clouds as it is during the monsoon, nor thick with haze as in the hot, dusty season which preceeds the monsoon. Close to the valley and obstructing to some extent the view of the high Himālaya are hills which rise to 8,000 ft. and press in on the valley on all



5. *Newar women, on their way to Brāhmayaṇī* pīṭh *at Bhaktapur, carrying trays of* puja *offerings.*



6. Stūpa *on the saddle to the west and below the summit of the main Svayambhunāth complex.*



7. *Temple of Indreṣor Māhādev at Panauti. Constructed 16th century.*

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sides, particularly in the north and in the south. To the north lies Śivapuri, wooded with oak and sal trees. To the West lies Kakani and in the east Manicur. Mahādeb Pokhari, joined to Manicur by a low range, forms the eastern boundary of the valley which rises up to 6,700 ft. To the south-east is Phulcoki, 8,000 ft. high and thick with oak trees. To the south-west is Candragiri and the pass to India at 6,600 ft. Finally to the north-west is the still thickly-forested Nagarjun. To the north-west also, but not in the immediate vicinity of the valley, are two other large hills, Bhirbandi and Kumhara which overlook it. The former, covered with rhodedendron and hollyoak, rises to nearly 9,000 ft. The valley is watered and indeed drained by the Bāgmati river which rises on the northern slopes of Śivapuri. It is joined in its course by the Viṣṇumati; and their united waters leave the valley by a narrow gorge called Cobhar which is in the south-west angle of the valley and forms the only cleft in the surrounding hill-barrier. Near the centre of the valley-floor, at the junction of these two rivers lies Kathmandu, the capital. To the south of Kathmandu, across the Bāgmati, lies Patan. Bhaktapur, the third important town, lies eight miles to the east on a plateau slightly elevated above the general level of the plain. The history of these three towns is the history of Nepal. To this day the name Nepal designates both this valley and the entire country. It is not only in Tibet that valley and country are designated by the same word.[2]

The Newar people, whose ethnic components are certainly multiple, deriving both from the
5 north and from the south in addition to elements which may well descend from the first settlers in the valley, have a language which, in its written form, has been heavily influenced by Sanskrit. They speak Newari. This speech is generally classified along with Tibeto-Burman tongues despite the obvious Indian incidences. These are matters for specialists and we will confine ourselves here to emphasizing that Newari differs radically from Khas-Kurā, the speech of the Khas who came into the valley from the west of Nepal and whose tongue was long known in Europe as Gorkhali. Khaskurā was indeed the language spoken by the confederation of hill-tribes which, under the leadership of Pṛthvī Nārāyan Shāh of Gorkha, a village situated some seventy kilometres north-west of Kathmandu, conquered the Nepal valley in 1768. Before that date, Newari was the state language of Nepal although Khaskurā also seems to have been fairly widely spoken and written in the valley a hundred years before its conquest. Even today Newari-speakers call their own language *Nepāl-bhāṣā*, "the language of Nepal". It was only in the 1920-s that the name Gorkhali was changed to Nepali and became not only the court but also the state language of the kingdom. We should note too that Nepali is today spoken by many bi-lingual Newars whereas bi-lingual Parbatiyās - that is to say individuals whose mother-tongue is Khas-Kurā and who also speak Newari- are few and far between.

Newari, as we have intimated, is not only a spoken but also a written language with a rich literature. Our knowledge of early Newari literature is, it must be admitted, slight. Catalogues of the literature of this early period are inadequate and few manuscripts have, to date, been published. What is known, following Jørgensen, as the "classical" period of Newari literature is situated between c. 1350 and 1850 A.D. During this period the most widely used alphabet in Hindu as well as Buddhist works was Nepālākhala. Practically all the literature of this classical period was based on works in Sanskrit. Religious, medical and scientific works were faithfully translated and many bi-lingual renderings of metric texts (in Sanskrit and Newari) were undertaken, as well as free paraphrases. The literary genres which were popular in this period were chronicles (*Vaṃśāvalīs*), epics (the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*) *Purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas*, popular tales (*kathā*, *bākhāna*), Buddhist *sūtras* and *vyūhas*, treatises on religion and architecture (*Dharmaśāstra* and *Silpaśāstra*) as well as didactic poems and *stotras*. A certain amount of regional specialisation is already apparent at this period: Bhaktapur (previously Bhaktagrāma) specialised in Hindu studies; Patan (previously Lalitapaṭṭana) specialised in Buddhist works whereas in Kathmandu (previously Kāntipura) both Hindu and Buddhist texts were interpreted. Between 1850 and 1946, Newari suffered heavily from official, Rāna disapproval. But in recent years a certain Newari literary renaissance has taken place, although many of the traditional forms have naturally been abandoned. Poems, short stories and essays are now popular and are printed in the Devanagari alphabet. Indian influence has, however, remained strong. Literary Hindi (Khaṛiboli) influences prose-writers and lyrics are still markedly sanskritised. However this may be, we have only mentioned this rich literary heritage in order to situate the Newars more clearly in relation to the other populations of the country.[3]

The Parbatiyas, the other important component of the valley's population, comprising roughly 40% of the total compared to 55% of Newars, while also active on today's literary scene, do not

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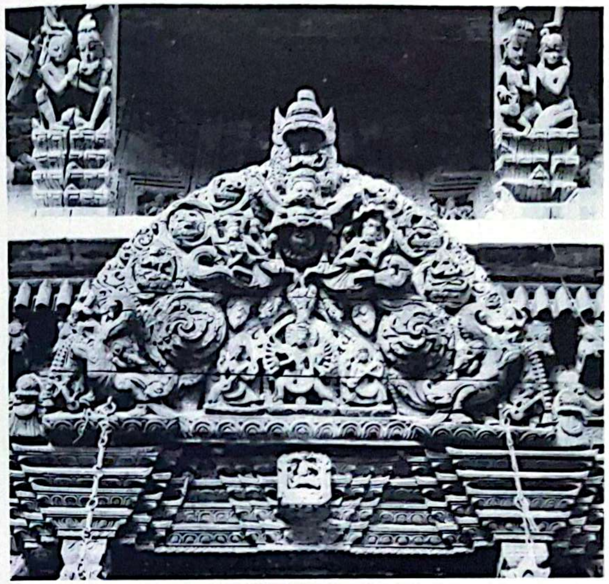
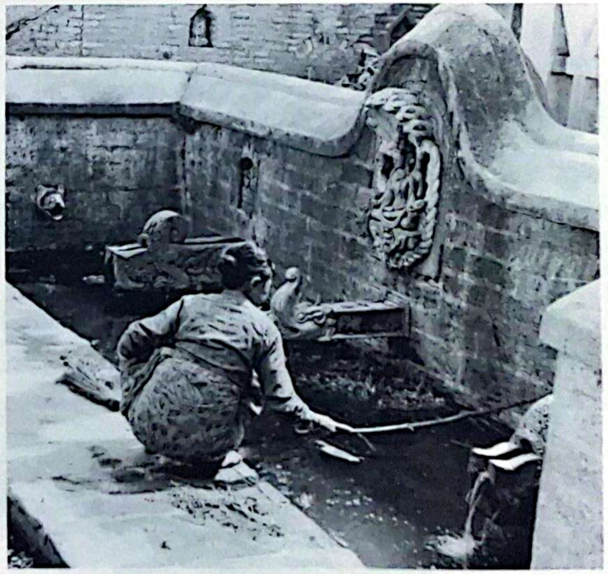
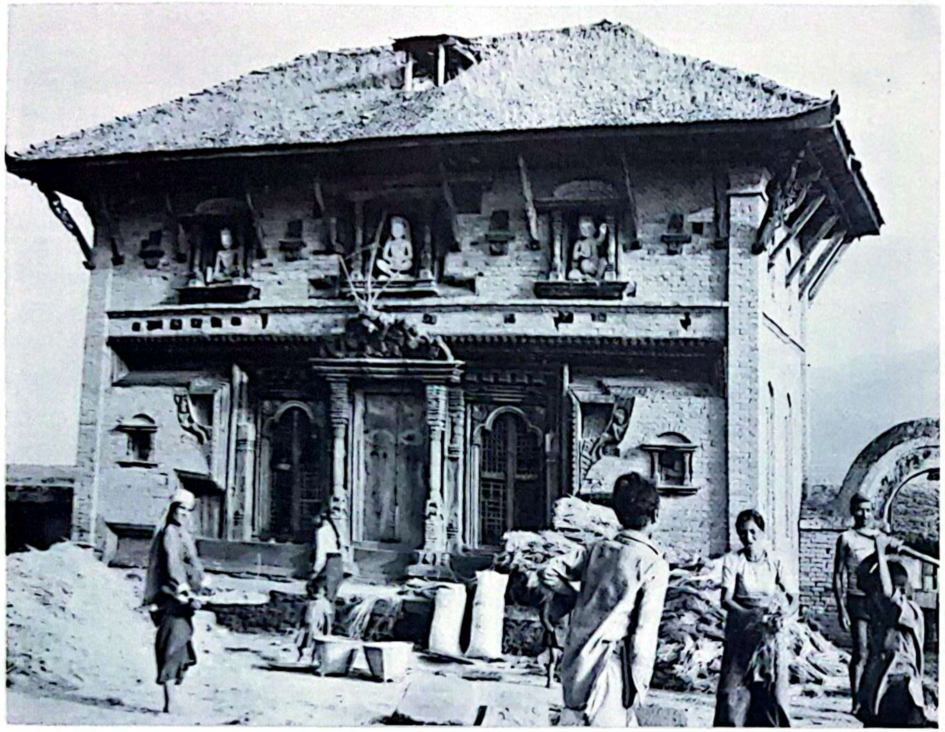


8. *Wooden* toraṇa *on temple of Indreṣor Māhādev at Panauti: represents Indreṣor Māhādev with Sarasvatī.*

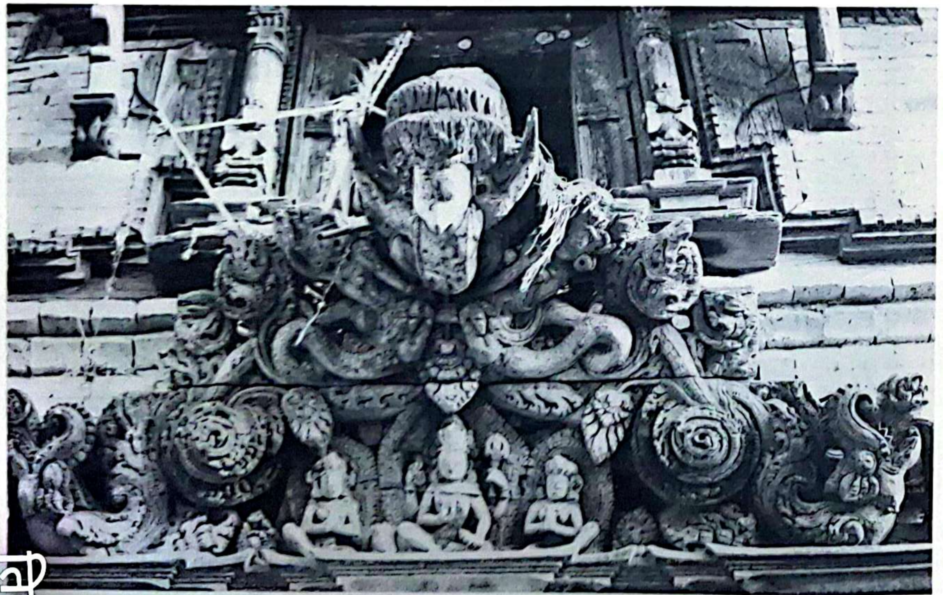


10. *Public fountain (New.* lohan hiṭi*): seated Viṣṇu above* makara *spout.*

9. *Wooden strut of temple of Indreṣor Māhādev at Panauti: represents Hanuman.*



11. Āgama-chē of Unmatta Bhairava in the courtyard of Indreṣor temple at Panauti. Inside the building there are stone statues of the Aṣṭa-mātṛkā. *16th century.*



Wooden toraṇa *of* Āgama-chē *of Unmatta Bhairava: shows Śiva in Virat-*mudrā.

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have a long and complex literary production behind them. The Newars are essentially town-dwellers, living in compact, tightly packed communities. The Parbatiyas, in contrast, live in straggling villages and settlements where the houses have a distinctly rural appearance and are not usually linked together by anything resembling a village street. Their scattered settlements and isolated houses, often surrounded by kitchen-gardens, are to be found not only on the floor of the valley but also on the slopes and ridges of the surrounding hills. Among these houses, those of the Brahmins are practically indistinguishable from those of Chetris: both are still built according to traditional hill-patterns. While the caste hierarchy within the Khas is not the object of our study, we would stress that Khas villages in and around the valley are heterogeneous in their caste and ethnic composition and provide little evidence of planned lay-out in function of caste and ethnic preoccupations. Prof. von Fürer-Haimendorf has justly remarked that "the average Chetri lives in a settlement where the members of his own lineage are in a minority, and not only Chetris but also people of many other castes are his neighbours".[4] It does not seem that the Khas made any significant contributions to the art and architecture of Kathmandu valley prior to the Gorkha conquest of 1768.

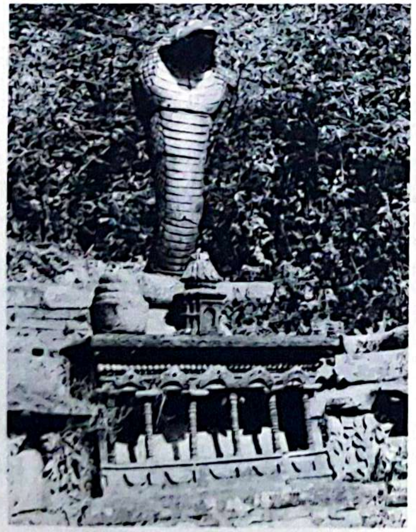
The remaining 5% of the valley's inhabitants are Tamangs. They live mainly around the fringes of the valley. They are of mongoloid stock and speak a language which is more markedly Tibetan than that of the Newars. Tamangs will often be referred to by Khas as Bhoṭe, "people from Tibet". This appellation when used by a Nepali-speaker carries pejorative undertones and it is significant that it is never applied to Newars. A few Tamangs can read literary Tibetan; and their oral literature is rich, particularly in folk-tales and songs of worship. But the Tamangs have played no important role in Nepalese literary history. Their cultural links with Tibet are slight today.[5] Their houses follow the Parbatiya rather than the Newar model. While relatively few in number within the valley, the habitat of the Tamangs extends throughout much of central and eastern Nepal: they are in fact one of the most numerous ethnic groups in the entire country but their contributions to the nation's art and architecture have been insignificant.

Before concluding these introductory remarks, we should perhaps risk some assessment of Newar character. Judgments of this kind are always subjective; so rather than expose ourselves to the ire of some and the irony of others, we will draw attention to what a great French scholar wrote over seventy years ago. "The outstanding trait in the character of the Newar", wrote Sylvain Lévi at a time when people wrote what they thought, "is his liking for society. A Newar never lives in isolation; whether in town or village he likes to lodge, somewhat in the manner of the Parisian, in several-storeyed houses, even if this means living in cramped conditions. He knows how to enjoy all the pleasures which nature offers him; he sings, he chats, he laughs, he is a shrewd judge of country; he likes to picnic in gay company in some shady spot near a spring or a stream, in the shadow of an aged sanctuary, facing a friendly or a grandiose landscape: A clever and a careful farmer, he excels in all the manual arts, even the most delicate; he is a goldsmith and a blacksmith of talent, a whimsical sculptor, a dyer and a painter of taste, a business-man who, if prudent, is without rapacity, a born artist . . . "[6] A people who inspired such a judgment surely deserve to be better known.

Notes

1. The best description of the agricultural year in the Nepalese hills is to be found in P. Sagant, *Le paysan Limbu, Sa maison et ses champs*, Paris, Mouton, 1976, p. 11-31. For a brief summary of the agricultural and horticultural calendar in the Valley, see G. Toffin, *Pyangaon, Une Communauté Newar de la Vallée de Kathmandou, La Vie Matérielle*, Paris, Editions du C.N.R.S., 1977, p. 189-195.
2. A recent description of the Valley is to be found in W. Donner, *Nepal, Raum, Mensch und Wirtschaft*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, p. 413-427. The best maps of the Valley are the *Kathmandu Valley Maps 1:10,000 and 1:50,000*, published by Arbeitsgemeinschaft für vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung at Munich, GEO-BUCH Verlag, 1977, with an Introduction by H. Heuberger, p. 5-7, in English.
3. For a recent view of Newari literature by one of its leading western students, see S. Lienhard, *Nevārīgītimañjarī, Religious and Secular Poetry of the Nevars of the Kathmandu Valley;* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Oriental Studies, volume 10; Stockholm; Almqvist & Wiksell International; 1974, p. 11-31.
4. Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Unity and Diversity in the Chetri caste of Nepal' in *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*, London, Asia Publishing House, 1966, p. 27. On Khas-kurā, the speech of the Brahmins and the Chetris of Nepal, see T. W. Clark, *Introduction to Nepali*, Cambridge, Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1963, p. vii - xvii.
5. On the Tamangs, see A. W. Macdonald, *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975, p. 129-167: 'The Tamangs seen by one of themselves'.
6. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. I, p. 248-249.

13. *Bronze statue (New. salika) of King Bhupatīndra Malla facing Royal Palace at Bhaktapur.*



14. *Royal fountain at Bhaktapur in Taleju temple complex.*

The History of the Valley

The history of the valley is often presented as a sequence which starts from a legendary basis and in the course of its development becomes a factual account. Such a view in no way reflects the picture which is furnished by the sources which are relevant to the period of our concern. It is only comparatively recently, that is within the past three decades, that attempts have been made by local Nepalese historians to sift the materials into order and to fit the available evidence into the type of pattern which in the west is considered as history. As late as the nineteenth century, legends were still being constantly re-shaped to conform to political myths. There is no shortage of historical materials; but as one of the most acute living historians of Nepal, Professor L. Petech, pointed out twenty years ago "what is now taken for granted and glossed over in contemporary Western historiography, viz. the dynastic and chronological framework, is still very far from settled in Nepal . . ."[1] Although the present work is not a History of Nepal, we must nonetheless provide the reader with some sort of historical framework in which to place the works of art we illustrate, and the social function of which we attempt to describe. In doing so we are bound not to linger over points of controversy which are the true historian's concern, and to gloss over many difficulties. But a rather fragile framework is better than none at all.

For the writing of the history of the valley, we can divide Nepal's past into five main periods. These are 1) The Gopāla, 2) The Kirāti, 3) The Licchavi (c. 300 - 800 A.D.), 4) The Thākurī (c. 800-1200 A.D.) and 5), The Malla (c. 1200-1768 A.D.). We dispose of two main types of sources: inscriptions and chronicles. The inscriptions, in turn, fall into two main groups. The earlier is composed of inscriptions carved on stone from the Licchavi and the Thākurī dynasties (5th to 8th centuries). These inscriptions are written in Sanskrit in an archaic alphabet similar to that of the Indian Guptas. The later group starts with Jayasthiti Malla at the end of the 14th century and continues up to 1768. In the early stages this latter group is written in old Newari script and in Sanskrit, on stone and copper-plates; but the language of the later inscriptions tends more and more to be Newari. There is a considerable gap between the earlier and the later group of inscriptions and this gap has not yet been accounted for in a satisfactory manner.

Nepal shares with Kashmir the privilege of possessing local chronicles which purport to trace its history back to time immemorial. However these chronicles, in the Nepalese case, are of very uneven value. They are known as *vaṃśāvali.* Petech writes that "a *vaṃśāvali* is primarily what its title indicates: a string of generations, i.e. a genealogical list, which in its simplest form gives merely the names of the rulers with the duration of their reigns in years and months. This elementary scheme is then varied by the addition of dates and of short entries relating the chief events of the reign. These additions may become more and more elaborate, till the whole assumes the shape of a chronicle, or even of annals. This development occurs quite early."[2] These chronicles were composed by local pandits close to court circles and were written primarily to vaunt the merits of their patrons and the deeds of their patrons' ancestors. They are not histories; but they do contain historical facts which can only be extracted from the legendary and mythological material in which they are enmeshed by careful comparative analysis with other sources. Chronicles written by Brahmins display markedly Brahmanical tendencies whereas those written by Vajrācāryas give priority to Buddhist achievements. However both types of chronicle give pride of place to religious happenings: lists of donations to shrines, the constructions of temples, etc. The older chronicles are written in uncertain Sanskrit and difficult Newari while most of the more recent ones are in Nepali. B. J. Hasrat has drawn attention to the existence in the *Hodgson Collection* of "*Vaṃśāvalis* of every description, old and new, Buddhistic,Śaivite, and of mixed character, in Nepali, Newari, Hindi, Persian and even in Urdu".[3] These have yet to be thoroughly studied; so for the moment we shall follow Petech in dividing the extant chronicles into two main groups: those written early in the 15th century under the Mallas, and the more recent ones, composed around 1800 during the early years of Gorkha rule. As an example of the former we might quote the *Gopalarāja-vaṃśāvali,*[4] written in corrupt Sanskrit and Newari, and which seems to comprise three separate chronicles, composed during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla (1382 – 1395). As an instance of the latter, the chronicle compiled by a Gubhaju of Patan, and translated by the pandits of the British Residency at Kathmandu, before being published in English by Daniel Wright at Cambridge in 1877 under the title *History of Nepal,*[5] is perhaps the best known. Other outstanding chronicles are the *Bhāśa-vaṃśāvali,*[6] the *Gorkha-vaṃśāvali* and Padmagiri's Chronicle.[7] Without going into further details we shall confine ourselves to stressing the unsatisfactory nature of the chronicles from the historian's view-point: they are partisan writings which often conflict in their accounts of the same events, weaving together in the same mesh oral and written legends, fragments of mythology, along with historical data. In addition to these local sources there are foreign sources, Indian, Chinese and Tibetan which often provide light on matters about which the local sources are silent or insufficiently clear.[8]

Let us now return to the periods of Nepalese history outlined above. It does not seem useful to linger over the Gopāla period; inscriptions are lacking. Kirkpatrick, whose *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* dates from the beginning of the 19th century, enumerates eight sovereigns of the Gopāla but the names he quotes do not coincide with those which are to be found in Wright's *vaṃśāvali.* Padmagiri only gives the names of five Gopāla sovereigns.[9] According to Kirkpatrick, the Gopāla were Rajputs settled between Simraongarh and Janakpur. Tradition links them to the Ahirs; and it is maintained that they ruled the valley from Mātātirtha, south of Kirtipur. It is indeed not certain whether any historical reality can be attributed to the Gopāla. Jayaswal thought they were a branch of the Indian Guptas, but for Sylvain Lévi their existence is problematical.[10]

The Kirāti dynasty, which tradition places after the Gopāla, reigned at a period when two events of considerable cultural importance are said to have occurred. The Buddha is said to have visited Nepal during the reign of the seventh king of the dynasty;[11] and the Mauryan king Aśoka is said to have ordered the erection of the four *stūpa* which today encircle the town of Patan. Aśoka wished in this manner to commemorate, at the four cardinal points, the initial date of each of the four *Yuga* (ages) of the world. These foundations are said to have been laid at the time of the fourteenth sovereign of the Gopāla dynasty.[12] There is nothing inherently improbable about these two events; there is simply no proof that they occurred. Wright's *vaṃśāvali* claims that Aśoka, with the permission of his *guru* Upagupta, came on a pilgrimage to Nepal. He was accompanied by his daughter Cārumatī. When the latter saw an iron arrow-head changed into stone, she decided to stay on in Nepal and persuaded her father to marry her to Devapāla, a local figure of Kṣatriya ascendance. She and her husband are reputed to have founded and peopled the village of Deupatan, close by the shrine of Paśupatināth. Cābāhil vihāra, to the north of Deupatan, is also said to have been founded by her. Apparently these are just pious tales. We should not however fail to point out that the Kirāta are mentioned in the Indian epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and that they are generally equated, in rather vague terms,[13] with the present-day Rai and Limbu populations of Eastern Nepal.

The Licchavis are generally thought to have succeeded the Kirāta as the principle power in the valley but the links between these Licchavi and those of the town of Vaiśālī, in the present-day Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, remain somewhat obscure. Supuṣpa, a Licchavi descendent born at Puspapura, which has been identified, on somewhat slender grounds, with Pātaliputra, is presented as the forerunner of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal. The first great historical figure of Nepal, Mānadeva I, emerges from the mists of legend in the fifth century of our era. An inscription from Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇ dated 467 A.D. confirms his existence in a substantial manner. Other inscriptions attest to his having three queens the first being Bhoginī, the second Kṣemasundarī, who is credited with the construction of a Śiva temple at Lazimpat, and the third Guṇavatī who erected a Śiva *linga* in memory of her father, Kinnaravarman. Mānadeva I was himself a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[15] The Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇ inscription credits him with conquests both in the east and the west. The construction of the Mānagṛha palace is also attributed to him, as well as that of a *vihāra* entitled Māna-*vihāra.* This reign marks the true beginnings of a veritable central political power in Nepal under Licchavi impulsion.

The next great sovereign was not a Licchavi. Aṃśuvarman was a usurper whom the *vaṃśāvalīs* designate as a Ṭhākurī or a Vaiśya Rajput. He may have been a Gupta. He was the minister of the Licchavi Śivadeva, his Māhāsamanta, and his son-in-law, before he established his own kingdom. He reigned from a palace known as Kailāsakūṭabhavana which had been built by his father-in-law. Hsüan-Tsang says that he wrote a linguistic work the *Śabda-vidya-śāstra,* "A Treatise on the knowledge of Sounds," which is not extant.[16] He was sufficiently influent to be able to marry his sister to Surāsena of the Indian Maukhari dynasty; and the son from this marriage wed the Gupta ruler of Magadha, Ādityasena.[17] Tibetan tradition maintains that the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po married Aṃśuvarman's daughter Bhṛkutī and she is said to have carried with her to Tibet images of Akṣobhya, Maitreya and Tārā.[18] In reality Bhṛkutī was probably the sister of Narendradeva.[19] Narendradeva seized power from Viṣṇugupta who had succeeded to the throne after Aṃśuvarman's death. It was during Narendradeva's reign that Chinese representatives visited the court and we shall quote the description from the T'ang *History,* translated into French over eighty years ago by Sylvain Lévi. "The kingdom of Ni-po-lo (Nepal) is due west of T'ou fan (Tibet). The inhabitants have the custom of shaving their hair down to the level of the eyebrows; they pierce their ears and hang in them tubes of bamboo or cattle-horn; it is a sign of beauty to have ears which hang down to the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or chopsticks. All their utensils are made of copper. Merchants, both travelling and stationary, are numerous; farmers are rare. They have copper coins which have on one side the figure of a man, and on the reverse a horse. They do not pierce the nostrils of bulls. They dress themselves with a single piece of material which envelopes the body. They bathe several times a day. Their houses are made of wood, and the walls are sculptured and painted. They like theatrical performances, and take pleasure in playing the trumpet and beating the drum. They are quite given to fate-reading and to questions of physical philosophy. They are likewise gifted in the art of the calendar. They worship five heavenly spirits and sculpt their images in stone: every day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a sheep and offer it in sacrifice. Their king Na-ling ti-po (Naredradeva) wears real pearls, of rock crystal, of mother of pearl, of coral and of amber; he has golden earrings and jade pendants in his ears and charms, decorated with a Fou-tou, in his belt. He takes his seat on a throne of lions (*siṃhāsana*); inside the hall are scattered flowers and perfumes. Important people, officers and all the court are seated on the ground to the left and right; and beside them are formed up hundreds of armed soldiers. In the middle of the palace, there is a seven-storeyed tower covered with copper tiles. Balustrades, screens, columns, beams, are all ornamented with pearls and gems. At each of the four corners of the tower a copper pipe is suspended; down below there are golden dragons which project water. At the top of the tower, water is poured into troughs: from the mouth of the dragons it gushes out as from a fountain."[20] The Chinese Ambassador Wang Hsüan-tse also left an account of the royal palace in which he spoke of "sculptures to make you marvel".[21] The chronicles, for their part, point to Narendradeva as the inaugurator of the car-festival of Matsyendranāth.

While much that occurred at the time of the Licchavis remains obscure, Pratapaditya Pal seems justified in maintaining that "due primarily to influences from contemporary India, civilization in Nepal was raised to a palpably higher level during the long period of Licchavi rule. The relation between Licchavi, Nepal and Gupta India was in many ways remarkably fruitful for the former. Among the more direct results may be considered the use of Sanskrit as the court language, the practice of issuing royal proclamations by stone inscriptions, the implementation of an administrative structure based evidently on the imperial administrative system, the introduction of monetary currency and, perhaps, a growing interest in the Vaiṣṇava religion, which had been so liberally patronized by the Gupta emperors".[22] The remark made by the Chinese concerning the prosperous state of trade is certainly pertinent for it was only a flourishing economy which could have permitted the investment in artistic and cultural works of religious inspiration which is so evident at this period. 16
Perhaps the Chinese writer equated agriculture, in his mind, with the use of the plough: the fact that the Newars did not use the plough might explain his remark. At the time of the Licchavis, Deu Patan, close to the shrine of Paśupatināth, seems to have been the only agglomeration which could be called a town (*paṭṭana*). Mānagṛha, the palace of Mānadeva, has never been located with certainty; and

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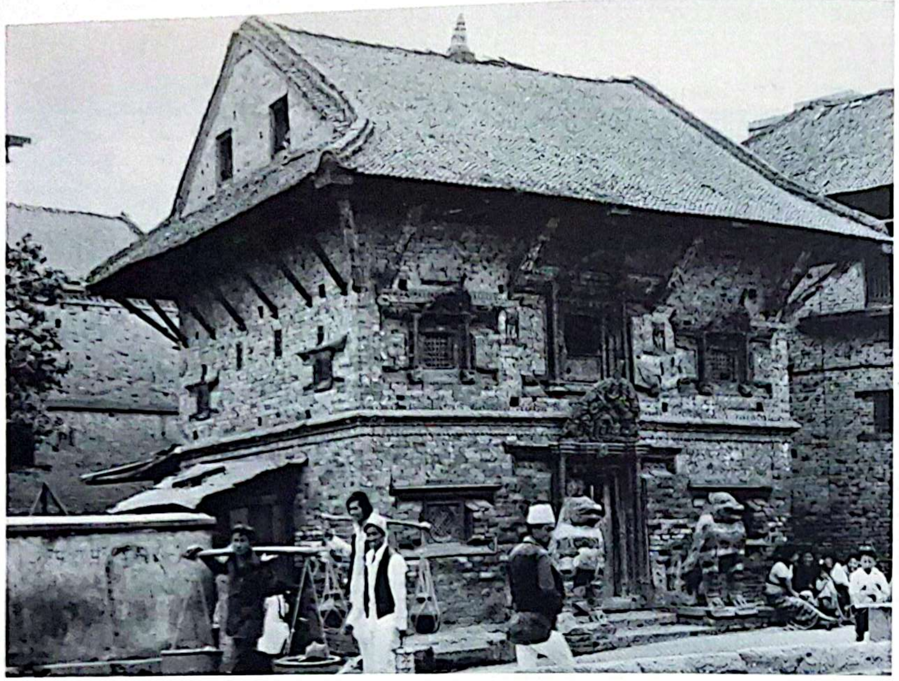


15. *Dyo-chē of Bāl kumārī at Patan.*

16. *Part of Paśupatināth temple complex.*

we should note that Kailāsa-kūṭa, the name of the other famous palace of the period, is still given to a large hillock, north of and close by Paśupatināth. Sylvain Lévi was doubtless justified in writing: "The king used to reside close to the divinity which protected him; the court and the pilgrims provided the bazaar with a sufficient number of clients". [23] The royal matrimonial alliances with Tibet encouraged not only the migration of Newar artisans to that country but also the expansion of trade towards the north.

The Licchavis' effective reign came to an end with the death of Jayadeva II in 740. The Thākuṙīs who held power after this date seem to have been Rajputs. Later chronicles divide them into three dynastic lines. One dynasty is said to have been founded by Aṃśuvarman in 602. It came to an end in 1043, but was replaced by that of the Vaiśya Thākuṙīs of Nawakot, under Bhāskaradeva-varma, who ruled until 1082. In that year, Brahmādeva founded a second Rajput dynasty which ruled up to 1310. It was Ari-deva, the ninth sovereign of this line who, in 1200, first adopted the title of Malla. [24] It is still not clear whether these three dynasties mentioned above were completely independent of each other. The absence of epigraphic materials for the period between the death of Jayadeva II and 879 A.D. has been attributed to foreign invasions. Be this as it may, we find Rāghavadeva on the Nepalese throne in 879/880. For much of this so-called Thākuṙī period we are reduced to lists of the names of kings mentioned in manuscript colophons. However, certain names from the Thākuṙī period are outstanding. Guṇakāmadeva, in the tenth century, is reputed to be the founder of the town of Kāntipur, present-day Kathmandu. The estimates of his length of reign vary, however, between fifty-one and eighty-five years, so a certain prudence should be observed with regard to the affirmations made about this sovereign. He is also said to have inaugurated the Indra-*jātrā* festival as well as the Kṛṣṇa-*jātrā* and the Lākhe-*jātrā*, and the Matsyendranāth *jātrā* in Kāntipur. Śaṅkaradeva (1065-1082) is said to have introduced the custom of pasting images of Nāgas and Vāsuki on the doors of houses on the Nāg-pañcamī day. Under the Thākuṙīs, incursions into the valley by a Karnatak prince, Nanyadeva, an ex-vassal of the Calukyas of Maithila, are reported, but there is no mention of this in the older chronicles. During the reign of Harideva, the valley is again said to have been invaded, this time by Mukundasena, the Sena ruler of Palpa; but it would seem that in this instance a minor episode has been made momentous by an accretion of legends. [25] The reign of the Thākuṙīs comes to an end with the death of Someśvaradeva in 1182 A.D.

While the general chronology, and even the main outlines of the Thākuṙī period are hazy, it was not, from a cultural point of view, an unimportant period in Nepal's history. Joint rule (*dvairājya*) seems to have been a fairly common practice at this time. Lalita-paṭṭana grows in importance, and with the destruction of the Buddhist monasteries in eastern India, maintains its pre-eminence despite the oscillation of political power in Nepal between Patan and Bhaktapur. Tāranātha gives the names of three Nepalese teachers at Vikrama-śila *vihāra* in India, at the beginning of the eleventh century. [26] Numerous Indian scholars came to Nepal. Manuscripts from the time of Mahī-pāla and Naya-pāla, the first half of the eleventh century, are to be found in Nepalese collections. [27] Atīśa, on his way to Tibet in 1040, paid his respects at the Svayambhū *caitya,* where he was greeted by the local king, and then went as far west as Palpa to meet another sovereign. [28] Tantrism seems to have taken firm root in Nepal at this period and is probably not to be attributed to Atīśa's journey alone. Tāranātha speaks of Buddha-śrī of Nepal who "acted for a short time as the *sthavira* of the Mahāsāṃghikas in Vikramaśīla. He returned to Nepal and extensively preached the *Prajñapāramitā, Guhyatantra,* etc". [29] Scholars were also coming now from Tibet to Patan and other pilgrimage places; but the Tibetan role in the formation of Nepalese Tantrism has yet to be evaluated. Sanskrit was the usual court language under the Thākuṙīs although there appear to have been few outstanding poets or writers of the age.

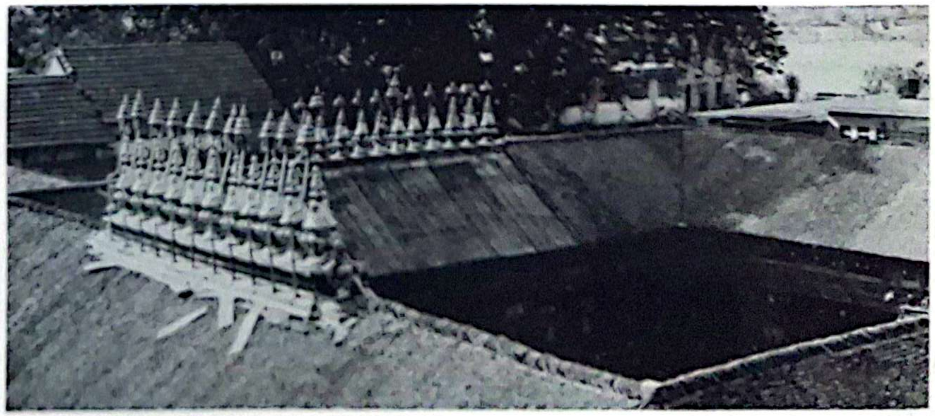
From 1200 onwards, when Arimalla came to power, up to 1768 A.D. the Mallas reigned over Nepal. However these Mallas were, as stated, composed of three distinct branches. The first, stemming from Arimalla, became extinct with Jayārimalla in 1344. The second began with Jayabhīmadeva in 1258 and lasted till 1382. The third is that of Jayasthiti Malla which ruled from 1382 to 1768. It has been argued that since, between 1200 and 1482, a number of foreign incursions were successfully repulsed, Nepal must, in those centuries, have been a comparatively stable and unified state. Faminine and earthquakes were not, however, unknown and a particularly serious earthquake occurred in 1255 when one third of Abhayamalla's subjects are said to have perished, the king himself dying six days later. In 1288, under Anantamalla (c. 1274-1310), Jayatāri, a Khasiya king from the Jumla region, invaded the valley and destroyed the towns. He attacked again in 1294, burning down villages, but showing respect to the local divinities. It is recorded that he visited Svayambhunāth, the red Matsyendranāth and rendered hommage to Paśupati.[30] In 1311 the ruler of Tirhut looted Patan and laid waste the area. It is well to recall these events, for when one thinks of the mission of Aniko to Tibet and China, which took place in 1260 during the reign of Jayabhīmadeva, one tends to think of Nepal as a stable kingdom, entertaining serious diplomatic relations with its great northern neighbours. In 1313, another Khasiya king, Ripumalla, the nephew of Jayatāri, was sufficiently strong to be able to spend eighteen days at the shrine of the red Matsyendranāth and accomplish there his devotions.[31]

In 1325/1326 there arrived in Nepal "a much respected refugee, whose importance is above all religious and social (introduction of the goddess Taleju)",[32] the Rāja Harisiṃha of Tirhut, expelled from his capital, Simraongarh, by the Muslim army of Ghiyās ud dīn Tughlaq. Harisiṃha, whose presence at Deu Patan is signalled in 1326, may have lived as an exile for some time in Bhatgaon but he never reigned there. In 1328, Āditya Malla son of the Khasiya Jayatāri, entered the valley through Nawakot and Pharping and occupied, for a short while, Patan. The real power in Nepal during much of the above period was a man who only lived to the age of thirty, and who, for some time, ruled from Bhatgaon, Jayarudramalla. He lived between 1295 and 1326; he never reigned but his political machinations and his king-making ambitions were to a considerable extent responsible for weakening not only the power of Bhatgaon but also dividing the princes of the valley among themselves. He was survived by a daughter, Nāyakadevī, who, after many adventures, married Jagatsiṃha. The latter only ruled at Bhatgaon for a few days before disappearing into prison. It is clear that if there was political power anywhere it was now in the hands, not of the royal lines, but of the feudatories and the aristocratic families.

When Jayārimalla of Patan died in 1344, the whole valley was in a state of the greatest confusion. It was in these conditions that in 1346/1347 the valley suffered the assault of the Muslim invasion by Shams-ud dīn Ilyās of Bengal. This time the conquerors behaved in a manner quite different from that of the previous Khasiya raiders. Religious foundations were desecrated; the image of Paśupati was shattered and the dharmadhātu *stūpa* at Svayambhunāth destroyed. There was a threat of another raid in 1349. Nawakot had slipped out of Malla control; Patan was a separate kingdom under a ruler of little authority, Jayārjunadeva (1361-1382); Banepa, Pharping and other centres were in the hands of the feudal lords.

This first period of Malla rule had been far from brilliant. It is with the appearance of Jayasthiti Malla that the scene changes. He took over Patan in 1372 but remained subordinate to Jayārjunadeva until the latter's death in 1382. It was in that year that Jayasthiti Malla moved his capital to Bhatgaon and was recognised as the ruler of the kingdom. He made a determined effort to restore and to reorganise the shattered valley. Unity was re-affirmed, the recalcitrant lords were curbed, and a dynasty was founded which was to rule Nepal for four centuries. A devotee of Viṣṇu and of Śiva, Jayasthiti Malla worshipped Māneśvarī as his own protective divinity. Whether he himself was responsible for the many reforms with which he is credited by later sources remains open to question; for he is something of a folk-hero around whose name legends agglutinated, and to whose reign are attributed the foundations of many Nepalese social institutions which, with modifications, shaped the life of the country up to the twentieth century. It is above all Wright's 19th century chronicle which casts Jayasthiti in the role of a great legislator. Jayasthiti was the heir to a historical situation in which caste had for centuries been an instrument of social and religious control. It may well be that, faced with the disorderly social situation of his day, the need to bring the more orthodox elements of Hindu society in on his side while at the same time redefining the place in society and the religious ranking of the by now very numerous married elements among the Newar Buddhists, Jayasthiti sought to promote a new social order in which all elements of the population were englobed. Profoundly Brahmanical in culture, he worked with five Indian pandits as his advisors;[33] but he is also known to have shown favour to Buddhists. Weights and measures may have been codified by him. New measures concerning the gestion of public and private property may have been promulgated, the measurement and classification of land codified, and a blue-print sketched out so that Hindus and Buddhists could live together in one society where each had a clearer under-

17. *Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ temple.*



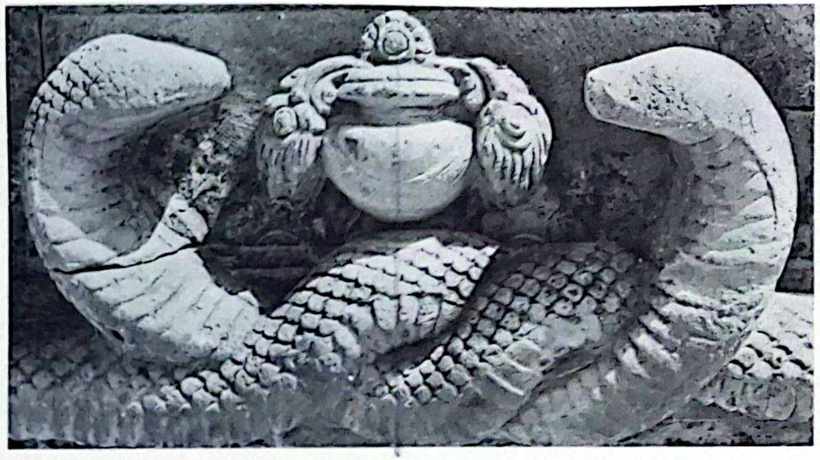
18. *Roof of Taleju temple at Bhaktapur showing gilt pinnacles* (gajur).

standing of his rights and duties as a member of the community; but Jayasthiti Malla did not invent the caste system. The social charter with which he is credited represents above all a recognition of the social differentiation which had already occurred in Nepalese society in his times.

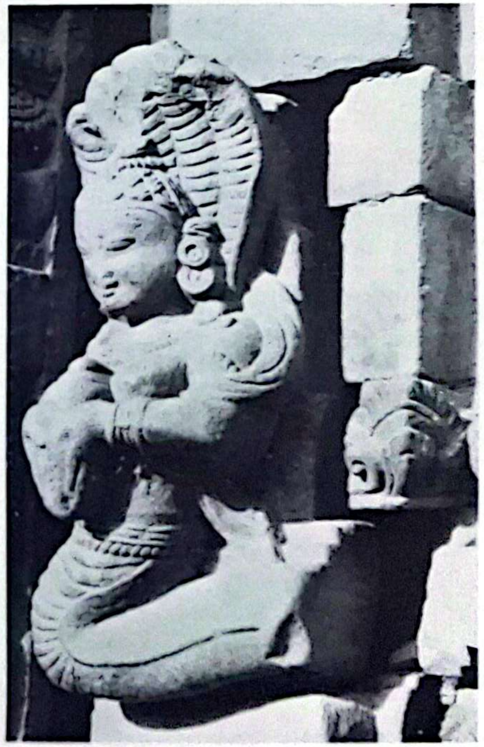
After the death of Jayasthiti Malla in 1395, the society which he had sought to shape endured; but its political union was again destroyed. The feebleness of his successors and their attempts at joint-rule encouraged the governors of districts to take power into their own hands. However in 1428 Jayayakṣa Malla brought the feudatories of Patan and Pharping to heel and Kathmandu submitted. According to one account he even conquered Morang, Gorkha, Tirhut and the Tibetan post at Shel-dkar rdzong. Whatever his conquests, architecture, art and literature certainly flourished during his long reign of fifty-three years (1428-1482). Many temples and other buildings were reconstructed after the irreparable losses of the Muslim invasion. Bhaṭṭa Brahmins from South India were installed by him as the managers of Paśupatināth temples. He is said to have gone on foot on pilgrimage to Gosāin thān. [34] The renovation of the Dattātreya temple in Bhatgaon is attributed to him; and he is said to have installed the image of Mīnanātha on the north side of the Rānipokhari in Kathmandu. Water conduits, canals and wells are also said to have been built on his orders. But one of the most significant cultural events of his time is the introduction of Newari as the court language. Unfortunately his decision to divide his kingdom among his children before his death once more precipitated disorder and rivalry. Henceforth the valley is divided between three distinct principalities. In addition to the kings of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Patan, we find local rulers with ill-defined territories centred on Banepa, Dolakha and Nawakot.

Rather than attempt to give a consecutive account of the events in the three main capitals under the later Mallas, it is preferable to direct our attention to each of the three places. We shall begin with Bhaktapur and not dwell on the reign of each ruler but select a few important names and events. Viśvamalla (c. 1547-1560) raised images of Nārāyaṇa on the four sides of the Paśupati temple. He made additions to the Dattatreya temple, founded by Jayayakṣa Malla and is reputed to have built the Pujahari *math* close by it. [35] Jagatjyotirmalla (c.1613-1637) is reputed to have inaugurated the Bhairab *jātrā* both at Bhatgaon and at Thimi, which is still an annual event on the first day of Baisakh. This king was very interested in theatrical performances and wrote a treatise entitled *Saṃgīta sāra saṃgraha*, and himself composed a drama entitled the *Hara gaurī vivāha,* "The marriage of Śiva and Devī" which was performed in 1629. The mural paintings in Bhaktapur museum may date from his time. [36] Jitamitramalla (c. 1673-1696) was also a king of literary leanings and wrote in Sanskrit a drama entitled *Aśva-medha nāṭaka.* [37] The king of Bhaktapur most famous for his
13 contribution to the art of Nepal is Bhūpatīndra Malla (1696-1722). Oral tradition maintains that he was brought up by a carpenter as a young boy. The palace of Bhatgaon, on what is now known as the Darbar Square was completed in 1697. It was said to contain ninety-nine courtyards originally. The palace had fifty-five windows in one of which was installed a pane of glass, gifted by an Indian friend. In 1703 the five-storeyed Nyātapola temple was also terminated to lodge the goddess Siddhilakṣmī. [38] Such remarkable constructions indicate not only the presence of highly gifted architects but also skilled woodworkers and a flourishing treasury.

Among the kings of Patan (c. 1618-1658) Siddhi Nara Siṃha is renowned for his piety and his devotion to the cult of Kṛṣṇa. It was he who built the Kṛṣṇa mandir [39] which stands today in the square alongside the palace and bears on its wall the *śloka* carved by the king: "as long as the temple of Kṛṣṇa stands here, suppose me alive". He also fought with Patan and Kathmandu, restored the Degutale temple, altered and extended the palace, dug out a large tank (which is at present within the zoo compound) in memory of his mother, Līla matī, and seems to have kept on friendly terms with the kings of Gorkha. In many ways he was a practical sort of mystic; in one year he is said to have distributed 250,000 pounds of rice to Brahmins and beggars; but he also concerned himself with encouraging new settlers to come to Patan and pacifying squabbles between the various Buddhist communities. [40] Relations with Tibet seem to have been flourishing during his reign and purification rites for merchants returning from Lhasa were instituted. Śrī Nivāsa Malla (1660-1684) fought at first against the ruler of Kathmandu, Pratāpa Malla, but later made alliance with him. He built the temple of Bhimsen close to his palace, repaired the temple of Matsyendranāth, and restored the Degutale temple. [41] It is during his reign that the Christian Fathers Grueber and Dorville arrived in the valley. One of the king's ministers - Bhagirath Bhaiyā - built, with royal permission, a three-



19. Detail of stone sculpture: kalaśa *between* nāgas *(Phasi Dega, Bhaktapur).*

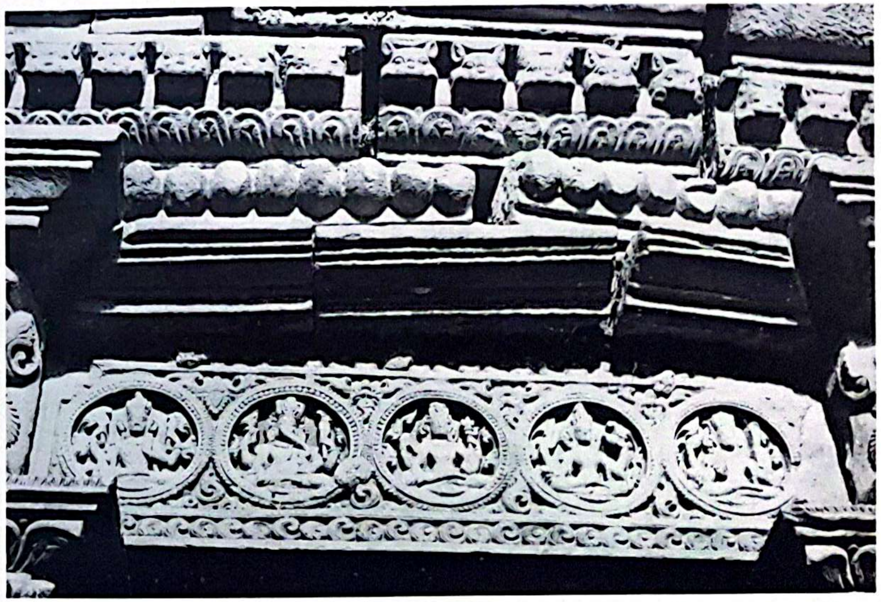


20. Detail of śikhara temple in Bhaktapur showing nāginī *in stone. (ill.48)* storeyed Śiva temple close to the royal palace. The growing power of this minister led to conflict with the son and heir of Śri Nivāsa;[42] the latter abdicated so as to leave the throne in his lifetime to his son who ruled under the name of Yoganarendra Malla from 1684 to 1705. The powerful minister was removed but intermittent fights occurred with Bhaktapur and Kathmandu. The Maṇi maṇḍapa, close to Patan royal palace, is a platform covered with a tiled roof. Astrologers and priests gather here to fix auspicious days for ceremonies connected with the cult of Matsyendranāth. Donations were made by Yoganarendra for the repairs and maintenance of this platform.[43] This sovereign was also present at the erection of images of Sarasvatī and of Cāmuṇḍā and was a regular worshipper at Paśupatināth. On some occasions Yoganarendra accompanied on foot the procession of Matsyendranāth as far as Bunga. A copper plate in the Mul cok of Bhaktapur palace shows that he agreed not to quarrel with Jitāmitramalla while the dance of Harisiddhi was being performed in that town.[44] The circumstances in which this mystical, womanizing king disappeared are the subject of legends. He is reputed to have ordered that as long as the bird on the head of his statue did not fly away, he was to be considered as still living. In Sylvain Lévi's time a mattress was still placed every evening in a hall on one side of his darbar, and the window was left open in expectation of the king's return.[45] In reality he seems to have died of poison at Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ and his twenty-one wives followed him to death on his funeral pyre. A confused period of infant kings and king-making ministers ensued. From 1717 to 1722 Patan and Kathmandu were united under a single ruler Mahendrasiṃha. There were many epidemics at this period and there were so many deaths that there was even a shortage of wood for cremations. Yogaprakāśa Malla reigned from 1722 to 1729 and Viṣṇu Malla from 1729 to 1745. The latter undertook renovations of the royal palace and there are records of his donations to Mahā-Lakṣmī, to Vajra-Vārāhī and to Cinnamasta. He offered a bull made of gold to the temple of Kumbheśvara and a big bronze bell to the shrine of Taleju in a courtyard of his palace.[46] The reign of Rājyaprakāśa Malla from 1745 to 1758 was filled with intrigues and bickering among ambitious nobles. The last ruler of a more or less independant Patan was Tejanarasiṃha who ruled from 1765 to 1768. When the Gorkhas arrived he hid in the Taleju temple before fleeing to Bhaktapur.[47]

We must now return to the third city, Kathmandu, and outline its fortune under the successors of Jayayakśa Malla. The reign of Ratna Malla was long (1484-1520) and in many respects successful. He won to his side one of twelve Thākurs who had seized power, persuaded him to poison his eleven colleagues, and then got rid of him. From 1484 Ratna Malla seems to have been in effective control of his kingdom. He defeated in battle Thākuris at Nawakot who opposed him in 1491, and repulsed the attacks of Tibetan elements under a chief called Kuku with the aid of the ruler of Palpa. Khas and Magar elements who had come with the troops from Palpa were officially allowed to stay on and settle in the valley and Muslims, for the first time, were allowed to live in his kingdom and integrated in the local society. Four Brahmins from Tirhut had persuaded the ruler of Palpa to help Ratna Malla and they were recompensed with land grants. A svamin called Soma Śekharānanda from the Deccan was appointed priest at Paśupatināth. According to Lévi, Ratna Malla, on the advice of this svamin, proned to recognize in the Ādi-Buddha a form of Devī.[48] Copper mines were exploited and copper coinage minted. The erection of Aṣṭa-mātṛkā images at Paśupatināth are attributed to this reign. A list of thirty localities situated in the western part of the valley and ruled over by the son and successor of Ratna Malla, Amara Malla, is recorded by Padmagiri. Amara Malla seems to have been an enthusiastic promoter of dances and processions, and some sources attribute the inauguration of the Hari siddhi *jātrā,* the Triśūli *jātrā* and the Kaṅkesvari(Rakta Kālī), *jātrā* to him. That of Bajra-joginī at Sankhu is attributed to Sūrya Malla who resided at Sankhu for six years. These two kings ruled between 1520 and 1560.

Mahendra Malla (1560-1579) is above all famous for the coins known as Mahendra Malli which were struck, reputedly with the benediction of the Moghul emperors of Delhi, during his reign. This coinage was accepted in Tibet.[49] Kirkpatrick says that the early coins of this type carried on one side a representation of Lhasa and, on the other side, the name, title and emblems of the ruler of Kathmandu. The monetary emblem of the king of Kathmandu was a sword, that of the king of Patan a trident, and that of the king of Bhaktapur a conch. Legend maintains that the ground-plans of the three towns were laid out in the form of these emblems; but there does not seem to be any factual basis behind this legend. After paying a visit to Trailokya Malla at Bhaktapur, Mahendra Malla decided to erect a temple to Tulajā Devī in his own capital.[50] A Sannyasi helped with the plans and the temple was finished around 1594. After this date permission was granted to the kings' subjects to construct high buildings in the capital.

21. *Detail of stone-work of Bhagavati temple, Bakhtapur (ill.51).*



22. *Detail of fronting at entrance to* śikhara *temple, Bhaktapur. Left to right: Candra, Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Surya.*

Sadāśiva Malla who reigned from 1580 to 1589 left behind him the reputation of having kidnapped many pretty girls for his own pleasure, and of having let his horses graze on anybody's property. His subjects revolted against his excesses; he had to flee to Bhaktapur where the local sovereign made him prisoner in the courtyard of the palace which today bears the name of Sadāśiva cok.[51]

The wife of Śivasiṃha Malla (1580-1618), whose name was Gangā Rānī, repaired Paśupatināth and installed there as priest a south Indian Brahmin called Nityānanda. This same queen is said to have built the garden known as Rānī ban which lies to the north of the present Indian Embassy in Kathmandu.

Lakṣmī Narasiṃha Malla reigned from 1618 to 1641. His minister, Bhīma Malla, did his utmost to improve trade relations between Kathmandu and Lhasa. He himself visited Lhasa so as to encourage Newar artisans to settle in Tibet. An agreement was drawn up with the government of Tibet whereby the property of Nepalese who died in Tibet was to revert to the government of Kathmandu instead of being confiscated by the local authorities. Kuti, situated on one of the most-used passes to Tibet, passed into Nepalese hands at this time. The diplomatic successes of Bhīma Malla made his sovereign jealous; and the king had him put to death.[52] The king himself showed signs of madness so in 1641 the government was entrusted to his son Pratāpa Malla.

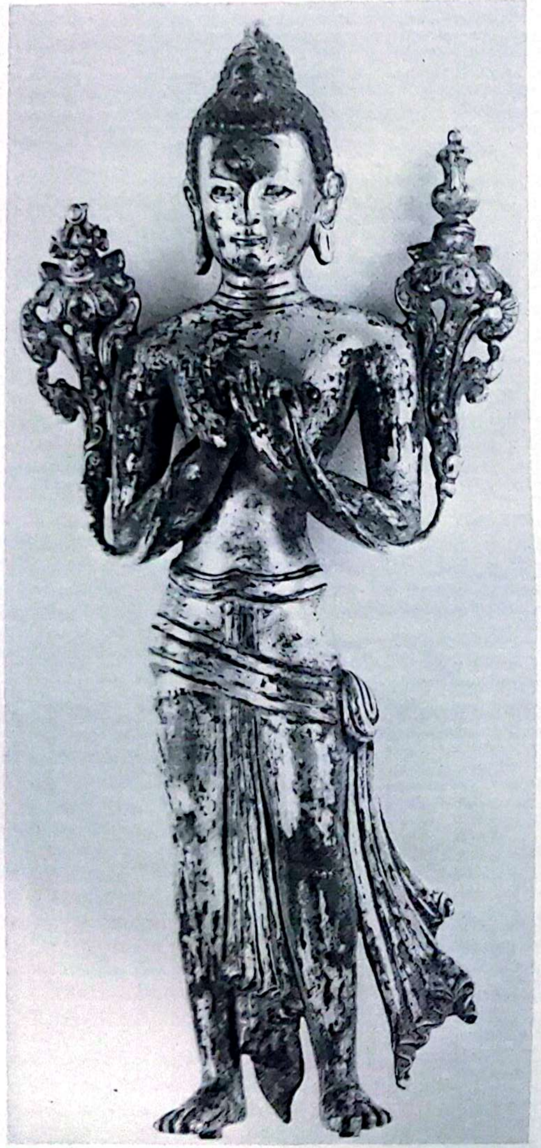
II Pratāpa Malla reigned until 1674. Despite the vainglorious nature of his inscriptions and the mediocrity of his verse-making, the reign of Pratāpa Malla marks one of the more glorious periods of Malla rule. Pratāpa Malla heeded the advice of four spiritual advisors: a Buddhist priest called Jamana; a Hindu from the Deccan called Jñānānanda who was appointed as priest at Paśupatināth; a Brahmin from Mahārāṣtra called Lamba Karṇa Bhaṭṭa and a Brahmin from Tirhut called Narasiṃha Thākura.[53] All denominations profited from the king's generosity. Pratāpa Malla made important additions to his palace: Mohan cok, Sundari cok and Nasal cok were erected, the temple of Nṛtyanāth repaired and a rest-house called Karindrapur built close by it. Hanuman Dhoka also dates from his time; it was he who placed the image of Hanuman at the doorway, on the left side of the palace entrance. He caused water to be brought from Buḍha Nilakaṇṭh inside the palace and enjoined on his successors never to visit in person Nilakaṇṭh. Round about 1670 he donated to Svayambhunāth the huge *vajra* on the top of the staircase which leads up to the temple area from Kathmandu. Pratāpa Malla is reputed to have repaired the grotto of Śāntipur at Svayambhu and to have deposited therein a book of his own composition entitled *Vṛṣṭicintāmaṇī Stotra*.[54] In addition to his passion for inscriptions - one of those which he had executed is in fifteen different scripts - the king seems to have been something of a magician. He dug up many statues which had long been buried underground, and had Paśupatināth linked to his own palace by a thread. He is even reputed to have made a statue of Bhairab close to his palace smile. His lifelong passion for women was the cause of his death: it was shortly after he seized a woman who was possessed by the goddess Hari Siddhi that he died. Pratāpa Malla had two queens, both of them from Cooch Bihar.[55] He seems to have handed over the throne for a period of one year to each of four of his five sons. This curious experiment was suggested to Pratāpa Malla by the svamin Jñānānanda. One of the sons died after four days' reign; and to comfort his mother in her grief Pratāpa Malla had the Rāṇī Pokhari, which lies to the north of the Tundi Khel, dug out and a temple constructed in the middle of it. Like many of his predecessors Pratāpa Malla fought against the kings of Patan and of Bhaktapur, and on one occasion he defeated in battle the ruler of Gorkha, Dambara Shāh, who had come to the assistance of the king of Patan.

Most of Pratāpa Malla's successors died young and reigned only for short periods; and the regents of this time are more powerful than the kings. The last of the Malla kings on the throne of Kathmandu was Jaya Prakāśa Malla who reigned from 1734 to 1768. It was while Jaya Prakāśa was observing the Indra-*jātrā*, the festival of Indra, that the troops of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Shāh entered the capital. Jaya Prakāśa fled to Patan and then to Bhaktapur where he was killed in battle by a bullet. The Gorkha capital was established at Kathmandu.

Notes

1. *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Rome, Is. M.E.O., 1958, p. 2-3.
2. L. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

3. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The History of Nepal as told by its own and contemporary chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur, 1970, p. xvi and note 6.
4. See L. Petech, *ibid.* p. 219.
5. D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, 2nd edition, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1958.
6. Edited by Nayanath Pandel, Nepal Rastriya Pustakālaya, Kathmandu, B.S. 2020.
7. This chronicle, in manuscript English translation which is not always easy to decipher, lay for long in the Hodgson Collection at the India Office Library, London, before being published in B. J. Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. 3-98.
8. One of the first western authors to dominate such sources was Sylvain Lévi in his *Le Népal*.
9. See Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii. Lévi, vol. II, p. 73, notes that there is a certain reasonableness about the tradition which maintains that herders were already present in the Nepalese past: "Before being the seat of a policed state or an organised nation, Nepal must have sheltered the pastoral tribes which drove their wandering herds through the Himalayan pasturages. While the herders of Hindustan continue to drive their cattle, at the right season, into the grass-lands of the Terai, the mountain clans, dispersed throughout the high valleys, struggling against an arid soil and a harsh climate, have no other means except a pastoral life".
10. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 156, speaks of "the mythical dynasty of the Gopālas".
11. Padmagiri, for instance, says that the Buddha "after visiting Svayambhu, seated himself on the Lion Throne made by Viśvakarman . . . and there read over to the people and to his own pupils the *Nepālamāhātmya* and the *Svayambhu-purāṇa*" (Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. 20).
12. See the discussion concerning Aśoka in Hasrat, *op. cit.* p. xxvi-xxvii.
13. *Mahābhārata*, II, 1089; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 584. For a general discussion of the Kirāta, see Kasten Ronnow, *Kirāta* in *Le Monde oriental*, Uppsala, 1936, vol. XXX, p. 90-169.
14. Hit Narayan Jha, *The Licchavis (of Vaiśali)*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series vol. LXXV, Varanasi, 1970, p. 127.
15. H. N. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 134-135.
16. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, Manshiram Manohar Lal, 1961, II, p. 84.
17. H. N. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
18. See B. C. Sharma, *Nepālako Aitihāsika Rūparekhā*, Varanasi, B. S. 2008, p. 95 and G. Tucci, 'The wives of Srong-btsan sgam-po' in *Oriens Extremus*, IX, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 121-126.
19. H. N. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
20. S. Lévi, 'Note sur la chronologie du Népal' in *Journal Asiatique*, July-August 1894, p. 65-67.
21. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
22. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 5. From the viewpoint of the history of art, an important innovation of the Licchavi period is the introduction of bronze-casting. See Mary M. Slusser 'On the antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft' in *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. XXIX, New York, 1975-76, p. 80-95.
23. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. II, p. 185.
24. L. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
25. L. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
26. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 189.
27. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 188.
28. Atīśa's stay in Nepal is discussed in Rajendra Ram, *A History of Buddhism in Nepal A.D. 704-1396*, Patna, Janabharati Prakasana, 1977, p. 112-114.
29. See *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India*, translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970, p. 317.
30. L. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
32. The quotation is from L. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113; Professor Petech was the first author to summarise the sources in this light; previous scholars had wrongly credited Harisiṃha with a military invasion of the valley.
33. The latest discussion of Jayasthiti's reforms is, to our knowledge, that of Rajendra Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 198-206. A more balanced estimate is that of D. R. Regmi in his *Medieval Nepal*, Part I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 664-665.
34. For his reign, see D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part I, p. 436-438.
35. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, p. 210.
36. *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, p. 215-218.
37. *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, p. 227-228.
38. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, Calcutta, K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1966, p. 237.
39. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
40. See S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 33.
41. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.* p. 285.
42. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
43. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II p. 260.
44. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
45. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
46. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 338-340.
47. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
48. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 244.
49. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 43.
50. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 248.
51. S. Lévi, *ibid.*
52. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 62.
53. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 69.
54. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 77.
55. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 65.



23. *Statue of Maitreya. 16th century. Height: 38 cm. Private Collection, Paris.*

तिरकिट धा

Cultural Exchange with Tibet

While the influence of Newar art on Tibetan art is too large and too complex a subject to be treated other than marginally here, a few words must be said about the work of Nepalese artists and artisans in Tibet and the varied activities of Tibetans in Nepal. The Tibetan word which designates the Nepalese artists in Tibet is *bal-po*; and the expression which designates their technique is *bal-po'i lugs*. Now *bal-po* refers to a person from the Kathmandu valley; and the Newars form the majority of the population of the Valley, even today. We may indeed be sure that most of the Nepalese artists and artisans active in Tibet were in fact Newars. If we pause to consider the artisanal and service groups which came into what is today political Nepal from the west, and extended eastwards with the Khas in the general process of Hinduisation of the hill-areas, we realise that these groups did not supply their own patrons - Brahmins and Chetris - the kind of polished artistic products which Tibetan aristocrats, rich land-owners and church-dignitaries wanted and were ready to pay for in order to decorate their religious buildings and to add distinction to their personal shrines. Within the Bahun-Chetri caste complex in the Nepalese hills, the Kami, blacksmiths and occasional silversmiths, were certainly capable of rough and ready work. Even today when a cash economy is encroaching on their traditional relationship with their patrons, they make adequate plough-shares and other agricultural instruments. But the jewellery, necklaces and ear-rings they make are rough. They are usually ignorant of the technique of casting statues by the cire perdue process; and it is rare to find in this milieu a man with any real talent for painting. It might be wondered why the Tibetan patrons did not employ artisans from their own community in preference to Newars from Nepal. So far little comparative research has been done on the respective social roles and competences of the Beda and the Damai, the Mgar-ba and the Kami, the Tibetan boot-maker and the Sarki. But by and large it would seem that over a long period in time, the Tibetan patrons were prepared to employ the best 'foreign' workers available when their own artisans proved inadequate to supply their wants. However this may be, the constant exchange of cultural influences between Nepal and Tibet throughout the centuries must be emphasized. If Tibetan scholars came to Nepal to learn Sanskrit and Tibetan pilgrims came to visit the holy places of the valley, Newars went to Tibet primarily in order to exercise and to dispense their artistic know-how.

We find Nepalese present in Tibet from the earliest period of its history right up to modern times. At Lha-sa itself local tradition maintains that the 'Phrul-snang was built by Bhṛkutī, the Nepalese wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po, the Tibetan king who died in 649/650 A.D. The temple at Mal-gro is also attributed to her.[1] The *Sba bzhed*, one of the more ancient Tibetan sources, tells us that stone-workers from Nepal worked with a master-craftsman from Khotan to build a temple in Tibet during the reign of Khri-gtsug lde-brtsan, who was born in 805 A.D.[2] The *Chronicle* of the Fifth Dalai Lama also refers to the presence of Nepalese artists in Tibet at the time of the early kings.[3] Such indications do not suggest that other artistic influences were inactive in Tibet at an early period. Tāranātha, whose *History of Buddhism in India* was written in Tibetan in 1608 A.D., traces early foreign influences in Tibetan art back to a certain Dhīman and his son Bitpala, both of whom appear to have worked at Nalanda in the 8th and 9th centuries. Dhīman's influence is said to have been greatest in eastern India whereas that of his son extended from central and western India into Nepal.[4] A Kashmiri school, the existence of which was also noted by the Tibetan author Sum-pa mkhan-po, was at first most influent in western Tibet, before the full force of Nepalese art made its impact in these areas. Sum-pa mkhan-po also notes the existence of a flourishing school of art in

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south India.[5] These early contacts between India and Tibet through Nepal were strengthened after the Muslim invasions of north India and the consequent decline of the great Buddhist centres of learning in that country.

At certain periods in time, the influx of Nepalese artisans and artists to Tibet was naturally greater than at others. The Mongol period seems to have been a time when the Nepalese were particularly active in Tibet. In 1260 Kubilai was proclaimed Khagan at Karakorum. During this period the Sa-skya-pas dominated in Tibet, under the favour and the protection of the Mongols. One of their abbots 'Phags-pa was given the title of Kuoshi and Tibetan Buddhism became the official religion of the eastern part of the Mongol empire. 'Phags-pa summoned from Nepal to Tibet a group of twenty-four artisans under the leadership of Aniko in order to erect a golden *stūpa.* Aniko, who was reputedly related to a Nepalese royal family, was so successful in his work in Tibet that he was later sent to China where he supervised the casting of numerous statues. Tradition holds him responsible for the construction of the white pagoda in the Miaoying Shi at Peking. He had a Chinese pupil Lin Yuan who himself trained many disciples. In China Aniko finally became "general director of all the workers in bronze" and even "controller of the imperial manufactures" before his death in 1306.[6]

In the early stages Nepalese artists seem to have been frequently employed in Tibet to illustrate manuscripts. But they were also employed to decorate monasteries. The names of several Nepalese artists who decorated the monastery of Ngor, under the orders of Kun dga' bzang-po, have come down to us.[7] Tibetan monasteries also commissioned works in Nepal where Tibetan monks participated in local restoration works. To quote one example out of many, Gtsang-smyon, the famous 'madman' of Gtsang, was present in 1504 at the repairs to Svayambhunāth carried out under the patronage of Ratnamalla.[8] We know that Tāranātha commissioned Nepalese artists to make a statue of Jambhala "in the Indian style";[9] and in 1659 the Fifth Dalai Lama records in his autobiography the names of certain Nepalese artists who made, among other works, a statue in his likeness.[10] Prior to this, in 1604, the First Panchen Lama had been present at the casting of an
23 image of Maitreya by Newar artisans and Gene Smith has translated a fascinating account of the event. "As soon as the alloy of molten copper and bell-metal (*li*) was poured, crackling and sputtering noises filled our ears. Molten copper boiled out of the mouth of the mould, completely spattering the whole workshop. Because it seemed that it had not gone into the mould at all, the Newars (*Bal-po*) scowled blackly and muttered something in their language about the casting being a failure. The others were in a complete quandary what to do. Everyone fell into silence. I also was mystified as to what had happened, but I called out urging them: 'Break the mould and see!' Without giving it time to cool (by itself) they chilled it by splashing a good deal of cold water over it. When they broke the mould, a splendid image of the Jetsun emerged. All were in a state of awe and astonishment: becoming mad with sheer joy, we all cried out: 'A la la !' "[11]

At times the record is more detailed than at others. We learn, for instance, that when the murals were re-done at Bkra-shis mthong-smon in 1630 the following Newar artisans participated in the work: Dza la na, La Ganydza ti and Pandu. The two styles used for painting the murals - *sman lugs* and *mkhyen lugs* - are also specified.[12] We know that Tshe-dbang Nor-bu, according to his biographer, visited Svayambhunāth in 1726 and performed a consecration at Bya-rung kha-shor, the Bodhnāth *stūpa,* in 1728. Jayaprakāśa Malla, is mentioned several times in this text[13] and there is even a reference to the latter's family divinity Taleju in the Fifth 'Brug Chen's autobiography.[14] Tibetan lamas were often accorded audience by the sovereigns of the valley who, although not themselves Buddhists seem to have shown great tolerance and often favour towards the representatives of Tibetan Buddhism. Thus while we are told that the seventeenth century Rnying-ma pa lama Bstan-'dzin Nor-bu, the Third Rig- 'dzin Yol-mo-ba Sprul-sku, who was active among the Tibetans (*Bod-pa*), the valley peoples (*Rong-pa*), the Tamang (*Ta-mangs*) and the Magar (*Ma-gar*), was received with fervour by the youth and ladies of Kathmandu and met with the king Si'u sing maha-raja. While in the valley he also visited the shrine of Matsyendranāth in Patan and other holy places such as [illegible]g-le-shod.[15]

Gene Smith has suggested that the renewed interest in Indic studies in Tibet in the eighteenth [illegible]tury (these had languished somewhat between the 15th and 17th centuries) may be imputable to

the role played in Lha-sa by the Newar artisan merchant community. In his introduction to the *Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Paṇ-chen* (1700-1774), he has noted that "we find a number of cases in 18th century biographical materials where Uray Newars were ordained as Buddhist monks in Tibet. This would have been impossible in Nepal where the religious establishments and monasteries were the hereditary preserves of the upper castes, the Gubhajus and Bares. In Tibet, however, the Uray was often honoured and courted by great lamas as much for his talents as a craftsman as for his sometimes not inconsiderable wealth. Si-tu's relations with his Newar students and friends is a case in point . . . One of Si-tu's lifelong interests was *Śilpaśāstra* and the techniques of painting and casting, an area in which these Newar artisans were unrivalled. He probably quickly realized that these same Newars had something to offer him in the field of linguistics and literary studies. Si-tu gave as well as took: we find him encouraging a friend and student to translate some works from Tibetan into the language of Nepal. Finally we should note that when Si-tu and his contemporaries went outside Tibet for studies they almost invariably went to the Kathmandu valley where they found a considerable number of learned pandits".[16] In 1723, Si-tu was received by Jagajjayamalla in Kathmandu. When he returned to Nepal in 1748, he was received by Jayaprakāśa Malla in Kathmandu and was given a manuscript *Amarakośa* commentary by Raṇajitamalla of Bhatgaon. He also visited Patan where he was received by royalty, translated into Tibetan a shortened version of the *Svayambhupurāṇa* and met Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Shāh at Gorkha.[17] One is struck by the ease with which these Tibetan lamas could move between rival courts in this same small valley.

The influence of Newar painters in Tibet from the mid-16th century onwards seems to have been slight; but the work of Newar metal workers in central Tibet continued to be important well into the 20th century. In the 19th century Father Huc wrote that "the *Pebouns* are the only workers in metals in Lha-sa. It is in their quarter that you must seek the iron-smiths, the braziers, the plumbers, the tin-men, the founders, the goldsmiths, the jewellers, the machinists, and even the physicians and chemists. Their workshops and laboratories are nearly underground. You enter them by a long, narrow opening, down three or four steps. Over the doors of all their houses, you see a painting representing a red globe, and below it a white crescent. These manifestly signify the sun and the moon: but the particular allusions conveyed we omitted to ascertain. You find, among the *Pebouns,* artists very distinguished in metallurgy. They manufacture all sorts of vases in gold and silver for the use of the lamaseries and jewellery of every description that certainly would reflect no discredit on European artists. It is they who construct for the Buddhist temples those fine roofs of gilt plates which resist all the inclemencies of the seasons and always retain a marvellous freshness and glitter. They are so skilful at this class of work that they are sent to the very interior of Tartary to decorate the great lamaseries. The *Pebouns* are also the dyers of Lha-sa. Their colours are vivid and enduring; stuffs on which they have operated may wear out but they never lose their colour."[18]

The above notes are based on isolated sentences in widely differing works and give at the best a very superficial sketch of the cultural processes involved. However there can be no doubt as to the reality of Tibet's debt to the Newars in the fields of painting and metal-work. Tucci, writing in 1949 on the basis of his unique knowledge of Tibet, emphasized that "before China in the XVIIIth century renewed Tibet's pictorial traditions through the triumph of the Dalai Lamas and then through political submission, ruling from the great monasteries of Lha-sa and Tashilhunpo or irradiating from the eastern provinces, Nepalese arts and crafts held undisputed sway. We have observed that in the main convents which, after having been laid waste so many times, are full, even now, of imposing collections, in which all the epochs and landmarks of Nepalese art are reflected, from its ancient glories, in which Bengal's artistic tradition is still a living echo, up to the formulas of its decay".[19] However when we try to determine Newar influence in the development of particular schools and styles of Tibetan painting we are on most uncertain ground. This is partly due to our ignorance of the historical development of styles of painting in Tibet. After the pioneer works of Roerich and Tucci, the translations made by Gene Smith of indigenous Tibetan views on these styles constitute a great step forward.[20] But this break-through remains to be exploited by relating the indigenous Tibetan terminology revealed by Gene Smith to particular paintings in publicly accessible collections. It is only when our critical vision becomes adjusted to distinguishing, say, *sman-lugs* from *mkhyen-lugs* that real progress will be made. Perhaps we should elaborate, at this point, the Tibetan views on Tibetan painting which emerge from Gene Smith's translations. The latter were published in rather specialised books and may well have escaped the notice of the average western reader. Most

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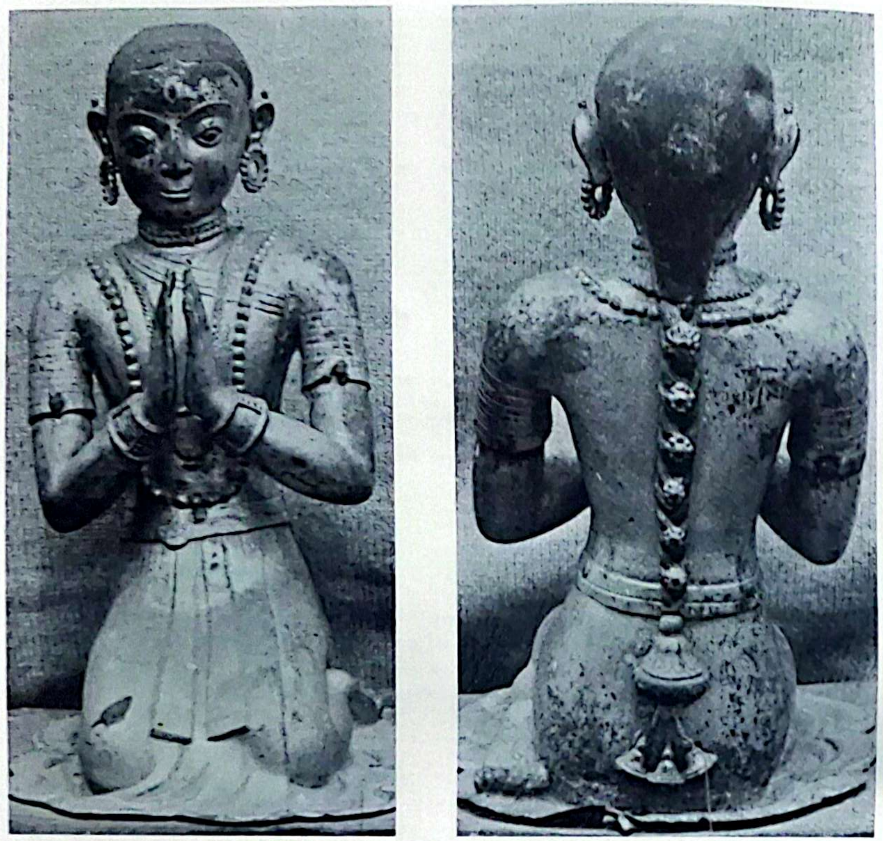

24. (a) and (b) Front and back of female donor in bronze. Chowni Museum. 17th century.

of Gene Smith's information is drawn from a remarkable nineteenth century Tibetan work of the oecumenical (*ris med*) school entitled *Shes-bya kun-khyab.* The Tibetan word for style is *lugs.* This word can, in other contexts, be applied to such differing entities as a doctrinal trend, the gait of a horse, the teaching of a philosophical school, a fashion in clothing.

The initial flowering of Tibetan painting seems to have occurred at Guge, in western Tibet, in the 11th and 12th centuries. Geographically close to Kashmir, the painting of the Guge school was strongly marked by influences from that country. Between 730 and 1200 A.D., Kashmir itself had apparently absorbed Pāla influences from Bengal and still older Indian influences from the Gupta period (c.300-600). The final developments of the Guge school are to be found not only at Guge itself but also at Spu-rangs and at Spi-ti, and are linked to the 16th and 17th century temples of Tsaparang. [21]

In the south of Tibet, in the 14th and 15th centuries, in the area of Gyantse, developed the *Bal-ris* movement. *Bal-ris* means "Nepalese drawing". Here too the pictorial influences from the Pāla period have left their traces. According to 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul, the author of the *Shes-bya kun-khyab,* the *Bal-ris* constituted the mainstream of Tibetan painting up till the 15th century.

In and around Sde-dge, in the east of Tibet, was founded a movement known as *Sman-ris.* The name of the school refers to the name of its founder: Sman-bla don-grub who hailed from Sman-thang in the Lho-brag. Chinese influences from the Mongol period have been discerned in this school, particularly in embroidered *thang-kas.*

In the 16th century developed a school known as *Mkhyen-ris,* founded or at least inspired by 'Jam-dbyang mkhyen-brtse dbang-phyug, who was born in 1524. Again, distinct Chinese influences are to be found here, particularly in the treatment of landscapes. With the decline of the Sa-skya-pa sect, and of its influence, the *Mkhyen-ris* blended into a "new Sman-ris movement", the *Sman-ris gsar-ma,* the impulsion in this case coming from Chos-dbyings rgya-mtsho who was active between 1620 and 1665. In this new Sman-ris style, mesh together varied influences which ultimately crystallised in the school of Dbus, *Dbus-ris,* in the 19th and 20th centuries. Dbus is the name of the central province of Tibet.

Still another movement mentioned is that of *Kar-ma sgar-bris.* It too apparently derives from the *Sman-ris* school. Its founder was a certain Nam-mkha' bkra-shis who lived in the second half of the 16th century.

Other schools are mentioned, of which we know very little - for instance the *Byang-lugs,* the "Northern style": Gene Smith assures us that he has never seen a single example of this style. Another school is that of the *Dvags-ris* (from Dvags-po in south-eastern Tibet). Its productions are compared to those of the Bhutanese and the Mon-pa. It must be admitted that we know little about the Bhutanese school. It seems to have begun in the 17th century as a fusion of the *Sman-ris* and *Mkhyen-ris* tendencies. Kong-sprul also mentions the *Byi'u* school, characterised by "its remarkable use of brilliant and shining colours".

It should be stressed that all Tibetan authors are not in agreement amongst themselves in these matters. Gene Smith's translations break new ground; but it is ground on which one should tread with caution. Another interesting recent piece of research in this area, the illustrations of which we were unfortunately unable to consult is that of J. C. Huntington, *The Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting,* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the History of Art, University of California, 1968. Moreover a sufficiently critical attitude must be conserved in presence of Tibetan affirmations about Tibetan paintings. Many Tibetan scholars of no mean repute tend to consider any painting which represents Buddhist divinities as intrinsically good.

While Tibetans seem to have learned much from Newars during the centuries consecutive on the construction of monasteries on a large scale in Tibet, Tibet in turn influenced Nepalese painting in its later stages, and left its mark on 16th century sculpture.

Architectural comparisons between Newar and Tibetan constructions are difficult to establish. The differences in the building-techniques of the two peoples can be explained to some extent by the different life-styles of low-altitude rice-farmers and high-altitude pastoralists and stock-raisers. Certainly climate has been an important element in determining house-forms. The walls of the typical Newar domestic habitation are made with locally baked bricks whereas the Tibetans use rammed earth, stones and occasionally sun-dried bricks for the same purpose. Tibetan walls tend to slope inwards towards the top whereas Newar walls are vertical. Tibetan roofs are flat whereas the sloping roofs of Newar houses are tiled. These sloping roofs protect Newar buildings against the kind of heavy rain-fall which is not an annual hazard in Tibet. When flat roofs are present on Newar buildings, they are small compared to the total roofed surface. The Newars cannot use flat roofs for outside storage because of the damp. On the other hand they do not face the same problems of internal heating as do the Tibetans; so they seldom live above their animals as Tibetans do, in order to profit from the heat of their bodies. One can point to the same absence of a chimney in both Newar and Tibetan constructions. But, in the Tibetan-style house, the hearth is a meeting-place for the house-family and passing-guests; sometimes both will sleep on the floor close to its warmth - and this is never so in a Newar house. In the latter, portable clay containers of burning charcoal are used to heat cold rooms in winter: but the hearth itself is not a communal meeting-place, still less a sleeping area.

Comparisons between Newar and Tibetan monastery lay-outs can only be suggested with the greatest prudence. Both may have evolved, long ago, from Indian models; but it must be admitted that we possess few measured plans of monasteries from different areas of Tibet. Despite Tucci's important work in western Tibet and Filchner's description of the Kumbum there is little else on which to base comparisons. There is certainly some similitude in some cases in as much as three sides of the courtyard may be flanked by two-storeyed buildings and the fourth by a temple topped by tiered roofs; but this is by no means always so. As the Newar kings were not Buddhists, monasteries were not linked to their palaces and these never have the aspect of "overgrown monasteries" - to quote Philip Denwood's expression - [22] which is so striking in the case of the Bhutanese *rdzongs* or in certain of the great aristocratic Tibetan houses. If a religious influence has shaped palace architecture in the three cities, it is undoubtedly that of Hinduism.

Notes

1. G. Tucci, *Transhimalaya*, translated from the French by James Hogarth, London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1973, p. 77-78.
2. R. A. Stein (editor), *Une ancienne chronique de Bsam-yas: le Sba-bžed*, Paris, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises: Textes et Documents, I, A. Maisonneuve, 1961, p. 71-72.
3. *Chronicle* of the Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 26b.
4. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma, Libreria della Stato, 1949, p. 278.
5. Sumpakhenpo, *History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, edited by Sarat Chandra Bas, Calcutta, 1908, p. 136.
6. See L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, Is. M.E.O., 1958, p. 99-101 and more recently Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1975, p. 21-23.
7. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 278.
8. *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, edited by Dr Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, Sata-Pitaka Series vol. 79, 1969. See p. 7 of the Preface by E. Gene Smith and p. 208 of the Tibetan text.
9. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 278.
10. G. Tucci, *loc. cit.*
11. Introduction to *The Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama, Blo-bzang chos kyi rgyal-mtshan*, Edited and reproduced by Ngawang Gelek Demo, Gedun Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series, vol. 12, New Delhi, Caxton Press Extension, 1969, p. 6.
12. This information is to be found in the *Autobiography* of the Fifth 'Brug-chen: *Dpal 'brug-pa rin-po-che rgyal-dbang thams-cad mkhyen-pa dpag-bsam dbang-po thub-bstan yong 'du'i dpal gyi sde'i rnam-par thar-pa*, p. 101*a*.
13. *Dpal rig-dzin chen-po rdo-rje tshe-dbang nor-bu'i zhabs kyi rnam-par thar-pa'i cha-chas brjod-pa ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i rol mtsho.* This biography was written in 1819 by Brag-dkar rta-so Sprul-sku Rig- 'dzin chos kyi dbang-phyug *alias* Mi-pham 'chi-med grub-pa chos kyi rgyal-mtshan. For mentions of Yam-bu rgyal-po dza-ya prakasya, p. 162b-163*a*, 201*b*. See also p. 75*b* and 199*a*-200*a*. We thank Gene Smith for the opportunity to consult this fascinating biography.
14. As quoted in note 12 above: p. 170b.
15. *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Paṇ chen*, edited by Dr Lokesh Chandra, Śata-Pitaka Series, vol. 77, New Delhi, 1968. Preface by Gene Smith, p. 6.
16. *The Autobiography and Collected Writings (Gsung thor-bu) of the Third Rig-dzin Yol-mo ba sprul-sku Bstan-'dzin nor-bu*, Dalhousie, 1977, p. 117-119.
17. Gene Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 15 and 11.
18. E. Huc, *Souvenirs of a Journey through Tartary, Tibet and China*, Peking, Lazarist Press, 1931, New Edition, Annotated and illustrated by J-M Planchet, vol. II, p. 228. Huc tends to be picturesque rather than accurate and this lively account must be read with caution. On the same page he states that "among the foreigners settled at Lha-sa, the Pebouns are the most numerous" - which may well be true - but goes on to affirm that "they are Indians from the vicinity of Bhutan" - which is nonsense. S. Lévi long ago noted this passage and recognized immediately that it must refer to the Newars. However he inexplicably derived the Tibetan name of the Newars from the monastery of 'Bras spungs (S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1905-1908, vol. I, p. 186, 307). We think the local expression to which Father Huc was referring must have been *Bal-spun* "(our) cousins from Nepal". Father Huc's description of the religion of the Pebouns is curious: "Their religion is Indian Buddhism. Although they have not adopted the reformation of Tsun-Kaba they respect the Lamaist ceremonies and rites. They never fail, on all the more solemn occasions, to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Buddha-La, and to offer their adorations to the Tale Lama" (*ibid.*). He never seems to consider the possibility of the Newars being Hindus, although, as we saw above, he calls them "Indians".
19. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 272.
20. Gene Smith's Introduction to Kongtrul's *Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 37-52 and his Introduction to the *Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 5 notes 17 and 19.
21. On the Gu-ge school, see J. C. Huntington, 'Gu-ge bris: a stylistic amalgam' in P. Pal (ed.) *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972, p. 105-117.
22. P. Denwood, 'Bhutan and its architecture' in *Objets et Mondes*, t. XIV, fasc. 4, Paris, 1974, p. 340.

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25. *Dīpaṅkarā Buddha (bronze and woodwork) in Patan Museum. Height circa 80 cm. 17th century.*

The Newar Pantheon

The word pantheon derives from two Greek words meaning "all the gods". However, to list the maximum possible number of Newar gods and goddesses would not in itself be significant. The study of a pantheon is meaningful only if we pursue it at three levels. One is that of the gods. Another is that of the men and women whose beliefs sustain these gods. A third is the level of ritual interaction between gods and men, men and gods. The examination of one level without consideration of the others quickly leads one far from religious reality. Moreover a synchronical listing of divine names would simply mask the fact that a pantheon is, at any given moment in space and time, the provisional result of a historical process, a historical process which, in the Newar case, plunges its roots back many centuries to areas outside the present limits of political Nepal.

A pantheon impinges on human life because its members are believed to be harmful or helpful. Everywhere throughout Nepal is to be found the belief in the existence of gods and spirits. These are considered as intervening in the lives of the people in ways which are sometimes beneficial, sometimes disastrous. Allied to the belief in their existence and their actions is the conviction that they can be influenced by means of appropriate techniques, such as gifts, bribes, sacrifices and so on, and thus be induced to exercise their redoubtable powers for people's benefit. Before the making of images of the gods by men, the former were conceived of as resident in particular features of the landscape in which the men, who vehicled the gods' existence, lived out their own lives. And, just as the beliefs held by an individual human being are more or less dependent on the collectivity to which he belongs, so too is a spirit or a god linked, in like manner, with other spirits and gods and can never be entirely dissociated from them. A one-spirit or a one-god religion is an unthinkable in Nepal as a story-teller without listeners, a healer without clients, a priest without faithful. Attached to a geographical area and a human community, the god's nature will often be determined by the constraints imposed by the former on the latter. His residence and his function are likely to remain unchanged longer than his name. The organisation of gods and spirits into systems is, of course, the work of men; and, just as there are areas of over-lap in human social organisation, so too will one find over-lapping and interference between systems of divine organisation. Indeed the pantheon of Nepal's Newars is not a closed system but an open one. Gods enter and leave it. The human consensus of opinion regarding the composition of the pantheon will naturally vary from place to place and from time to time, in function of the needs of the faithful and the learning and the interests of the priests and other officiants who manipulate the pantheon. Thus, in an area such as the Kathmandu Valley, some gods "function" in many places most of the time; but all the gods do not function everywhere all of the time. Moreover both those who address requests to the gods and those who interpret the gods' answers are born and die. They are not a constant group of actors in the three-level cosmic drama. For instance Hinduism, under royal and governmental impulsion, is today increasing its hold on men's minds whereas Buddhism is declining in importance. So there is also constant change in the components of the pantheon for what one might call political reasons. A pantheon is indeed subject to many factors which are not religious in origin but may well give rise to religious consequences. Fashion, demographic pressure (too many gods faced with too few men tend to elbow each other out: few gods, faced with many men, will tend to be neglected by some of the latter) as well as natural causes provoke sudden changes in its composition. A landslide, an earthquake, a flood can change the roles in a local pantheon as radically as do an emigration or an immigration. An abundant harvest, a seemingly miraculous cure, the political or economic success of a local worshipper may provoke the sudden blossoming of a local cult and the promotion to a higher rank of a particular divinity. Failure, on the other hand, tends to occasion divine drop-outs. To maintain a steady, important place in the pantheon of the Newars a god must therefore have been worshipped by many generations of men and women who have established and maintained a conventional, stereotyped relationship with him, after having recognised and acknowledged the exercise of his power at a given geographical point. All Newars do not possess encyclopedic knowledge concerning the totality of their pantheon. Most people will know a little about lots of gods and a great deal about a few. Very many Newar gods have Indian names; but they never seem to be thought of as foreign gods, although the formulae for meditating on them, and the prescriptions for making their images, are to be found in and were originally derived from such Sanskrit texts as the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī.*[1]

Before closing these introductory remarks, we should make clear to the reader who has no first-hand knowledge of Newar life that access to worship in a public place is not usually nor necessarily determined in Nepal by ethnic appartenance nor by the position in the caste hierarchy of the individual worshipper. Instances of caste or ethnic exclusivity do exist (the case of Taleju is particularly complex and will be treated elsewhere); but they are not very frequent. The reader should not imagine that the Newar lower orders are forced to worship sticks and stones in natural or ill-made sites whereas the upper classes adore well-made anthropomorphic images of the divinity in tastefully decorated edifices. Access to worship *Āgama* and *Kul* divinities in private house-shrines *is* restricted to members of the lineage and to initiates. But the point we are trying to make is that a simple *linga* or even a natural, unworked stone may be considered the support of powers greater than those associated with an ornate statue. Aniconism has persisted among the Newars, as among other populations of Nepal, long after the development of both Hindu and Buddhist iconography.

Although gods exist in the beliefs of men, their usual habitat is the other world, the geography of which is always rather uncertain in men's minds. Man cannot accede to the other world, and to the gods, directly. He must pass by certain intermediaries, bend himself to certain rituals and acts of worship. The presence of the gods on this earth is inconstant, at the best periodical. When a member of the pantheon is invoked in an appropriate manner, he alights (his coming is almost always envisaged as a descent)[2] in this world in a particular place (a stone, a water-pot, a human being, a statue, a drawing, a painting, etc.). His presence may be latent in several distinct places simultaneously; and this presence is often more or less manifest, more or less temporary. A statue is not his permanent residence in this world any more than is a natural rock. Even statues have to be re-charged periodically with blessings and re-consecrated with bathing and re-painting. The learned man, the image-maker, the *citrakar* will know the *sādhana* of the god, on which are based both meditation and artistic creation. The common people will only know the image of the god and the stories of his powers. There is little of that preoccupation, so common in the west, with the need to determine the exact biography and the precise message of a particular divine personnage.

Perhaps the best general description of the mental processes involved in the making of an image is still that of A. K. Coomaraswamy, and we shall quote it here. "The maker of an icon, having, by various means proper to the practice of Yoga, eliminated the distracting influences of fugitive emotions and creature images, self-willing and self-thinking, proceeds to visualize the form of the *devatā* . . . described in a given canonical prescription, *sādhana, mantram, dhyāna.* The mind produces or draws (*ākarṣati*) this form to itself, as though from a great distance. Ultimately, that is, from Heaven, where the types of art exist in formal operation; immediately, from "the immanent space in the heart" (*antar-hṛdaya-ākāśa*), the common focus (*saṁstāva,* "concord") of seer and seen, at which place the only possible experience of reality takes place. The true-knowledge-purity-aspect (*jñāna-sattva-rūpa*) thus conceived and inwardly known (*antar-jñeya*) reveals itself against the ideal space (*ākāśa*) like a reflection (*pratimbavat*), or as if seen in a dream (*svapnavat*). The imager must realize a complete self-identification with it (*ātmānaṁ . . . dhyāyāt,* or *bhāvayet*), whatever its peculiarities (*nānālakṣaṇālaṁkṛtam*), even in the case of opposite sex or when the divinity is provided with terrible supernatural characteristics; the form thus known in an act of non-differentiation being held in view as long as may be necessary (*evaṁ rūpaṁ yāvad icchati tāvad vibhāvayet*), is the model from which he proceeds to execution in stone, pigment, or other material." As Coomaraswamy rightly remarked, "the whole process up to the point of manufacture, belongs to the established order of personal devotions, in which worship is paid to an image mentally conceived (*dhyātvā yajet*); in any case the principle involved is that true knowledge of an object is not obtained by merely empirical observation or reflex registration (*pratyakṣa*), but only when the knower and known, seer and seen, meet in an act transcending distinction (*anayor advaita*)".[3] While based primarily on Indian sources the description of Coomaraswamy is certainly applicable to the artistic act of a Newar of the Malla period. The technical stages in the manufacture of bronze Newar images have been studied recently by two authors in articles published in Nepal.[4] Rather than summarise their findings, we would note that their technological descriptions can be substantiated by etymology. The word usually employed to designate any statue of a divinity with a face is *murti*: on the other hand, for the statue of a human being, the word *salika* is used. The Sanskrit root *mṛ/mur* means "to coagulate, to solidify" so *murti* means literally a "solidification". In this context we not only think of the bronze-caster's or the potter's art but bear in mind the churning of the cosmic ocean by the gods and the consequent production of divine personages.

Once an image is technically complete, and has been rendered apt for worship by rituals which summon into it the presence of the divinity, it is worshipped with rice and flowers and sandal-paste (*akṣata, puṣpa* and *candana*) and offerings made to it by lighting lamps (*dipa*) and burning incense (*dhupa*). On particular occasions it will be washed with water or the *pañcāmṛta.*[5] The Tibetan pilgrim scholar Dharmasvamin, who stayed in Nepal for eight years before going on to India in 1234 A.D., has left us a description of the ritual he observed of which the object was the image of the red Matsyendranāth. "On the eighth day of the middle autumn month, this image of the Ārya of Bu-kham **104** is taken out and offerings are made to it, and a great spectacle takes place. In general, people make offerings to the image, especially the king and the wealthy people, and all invite the image to their houses and present offerings to it which consist of the five sacrificial substances: curds, milk, raw-sugar, honey and sugar. They pour these substances over the head of the image and then bathe it; the water and victuals are then consumed (by the people). Thus they worship for half a month. Through these ablutions, the bright red vermillion paint (on the image) is washed away. Then, on the seventh day of the next month, young Tantrics called Han-du, holding in their hands fly-whisks and musical instruments, invite the image back to the temple amid a great spectacle. On the eighth day of the month they again paint the image with red dye . . . "[6]

Thus far we have considered the mental processes of the maker of an image, its manufacture and its worship. We shall now take into account multiple icons, and this will be the occasion for looking into their historical development and the growth of their inter-relationships. Let us take as an example the image of the Buddha. We know that in the early days of Buddhism in India, the **44, 65** Buddha's physical image was not represented. Instead his passage on this earth was recalled by the representation of objects linked to his earthly career: the wheel of the law at Benares, the tree at Bodh-gaya under which he attained Illumination, the *stūpa* containing his relics. These were signs of his absence at the same time as they projected on this earth the example of his life and kept his message alive among his posterity. Alfred Foucher called them hieroglyphs of the Buddha[7] and Paul Mus compared them to those hieroglyphs of Prajāpati, the Brahmanical fire-altars.[8] At a later stage in history, as a consequence perhaps of the impact of western influences, anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha and of previous Buddhas came to be sculpted at Mathura and Gandhāra. In order to display his superiority to the gods of Hinduism, he was depicted with a multitude of divine beings attendant on him. Thus Brahma and Indra were represented as present at his lustration after his supernatural birth from the right side of his mother Maya Devī. The idea of a temporal series of Buddhas, which soon included a Buddha-to-be, Maitreya, gave way to that of a **23** transcendant personage, manifesting himself from an absolute centre throughout time and throughout the space inhabited by humans. In such texts as the *Lotus of the True Law*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which is one of the nine basic texts still studied by the Newars,[6] a central figure is surrounded at each of the cardinal points and the intermediate directions by pairs of Tathāgatas, but the central figure is still Śākyamuni. In later texts, with the development of the doctrine, it is no longer Śākyamuni who is the central figure but Vairocana, whose name means Resplendent. At the time of the *Tantra*, it is Vairocana who is surrounded at each of the cardinal points by Akṣobhya (East), Ratnasambhava (South), Amitābha (West) and Amoghasiddhi (North). Each of the Tathāgata is characterised by a **32** *mudra* (a gesture of the hand and fingers) and is distinguishable by his colour (white, blue, yellow, red, green, respectively) and has a bird or an animal as "vehicle" (lion, elephant, horse, peacock, and *garuḍa*). Eventually, in the *Vajrayāna*, a sixth personage, Vajradhara or Vajrasattva, was added to the pentad as the supreme absolute. And to each of the Tathāgatas, at the cardinal points, was adjoined, in the intermediate spaces, a goddess. Thus Locanā was linked with Akṣobhya, Mamakī with Ratnasambhava, Pundaravasini with Amitābha, and Tārā with Amoghasiddhi. This is only a very schematic account of the development from a unique central figure which, in the earliest representations, is himself absent, to a pentad, and ultimately to a nine-unit system. The central divinity is still unique, but he now faces out to the four or the eight divisions of the kingdom in which he is installed and his presence,unique in its diversity,radiates throughout time. In this manner a divine scheme, based on the cardinal points, took over the role of the unworked local stone which had been considered the father, the mother, the wife or the sister of other holy stones in the surrounding landscape. Gradually a fixed, spatially structured pantheon took the place of loose-knit networks of vague family relationships. Order, spatial and temporal discipline, was brought into the preceding disorder of the local cults and the divine supports of worship.

We have seen above how the faithful worshipped a single image. How did ordinary Buddhist men and women, in all their variety, relate to the type of divine pentad described above? By natural inclination and composition they were thought of by Buddhists as belonging to one of five families (*kula*) each characterised respectively by a predominance of anger, stupidity, passion, envy or malignity. It was the business of the human master, the *guru*, to determine to which of the five Tathāgatas the neophyte should be introduced, for each one had the particular aptitude for coping with one of the five evils. The fivefold disposition on which the individual should meditate composed a *maṇḍala* having at its centre the Tathāgata of the family which the master chose for his pupil. The five families thus constituted were known by the ritual instruments associated with the corresponding Tathāgata: the *vajra* of Akṣobhya, the gem (*ratna*) of Ratnasambhava, the lotus (*padma*) of Amitābha, the *karma* action (represented by a crossed double-*vajra*) of Amoghasiddhi and the wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*) of Vairocana. When the faithful addresses himself to his chosen divinity, he does so not only in the hope that his desires will be fulfilled thanks to divine aid, but also because he is ambitious to exercise the power which is the divinity's special strength. The five-fold pattern which we outlined above is a relatively simple one; and there are, at the disposition of teachers and pupils, a great variety of such patterns or *maṇḍalas* of varying complexity, just as there are a great variety of rites by which the divinity can be approached. These rites, and the attempted identification of the suppliant with his god, may aim at finding a lost object, possessing a woman, slaying one's enemies, exorcizing evil, provoking prosperity, etc. Whatever the motivations of the worshippers, inspired by fear, hunger, gratitude and many other emotions in a society which can count on few technological aids in the battle of existence, the subject seeks to identify himself with the divine object in order to obtain a supplement of power in this life and ultimately, although this preoccupation is less obsessive, to merge with the absolute power at his death. Caught up in the endless round of *saṃsāra* by the necessary, inevitable retribution of his acts, he could only find a way out of the cycle by attaining the *nirvāṇa*. The *nirvāṇa* was represented at the still centre of the turning wheel of life. The presence of Vairocana at the centre of the dispositive likewise indicated the potential identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. David Snellgrove remarked most aptly, with regard to the positional relationships of the divine personages in Buddhist *maṇḍalas*, that "there is as it were a continual movement from the centre to the outside and from the outside to the centre".[10] His remark brings back to mind the thesis of Miss Boner which we quote in a later chapter. It is the *maṇḍala* which orders the processes of emanation (*utpattikrama*) and return (*sampannakrama*) in the transmigratory world of *saṃsāra*.

The pairs of eyes on the two great *stūpas* of Bodhnāth and Svayambhunāth face outwards from
41 the central plinth towards the four directions; four of the faces of Śiva on the Paśupatināth *liṅga* are turned towards the same cardinal points of the kingdom. These great sites are not only centres of worship: they centre worship. However, rather than pursue the theme of the five-fold and ninefold patterns further at this point - we will return later to it in the case of the Aṣṭamātṛkā and Tripurasundarī at Bhaktapur - let us point out that the old type of family relationships between rough stone deities of primitive types are still to be found in Hinduism. The cult of Śiva cannot be separated from that of his 'family'[11]. His wife Parvatī is often represented at his side but is also to be found independently; and Gaṇeś, his son, is not always standing nearby or in an obvious relation to his father. There has, naturally, been a certain disorder in the execution and the erection of divine

26. *Stone* garuḍa *in front of Viṣṇu temple at Banepa.*

27. *Stone sculpture of Viṣṇu at Bhaktapur. 11th century.*

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28. *Statue of Viṣṇu in bronze. 11th-12th century. Collection S. Ellenberg. Height: 15 cms.*

29. *Mañjuśrī at Chowni Museum. 16th century. Bronze. 30 cm in height.*

images; hazard, individual initiative and the ravages of time have left on the face of the valley's soil a multitude of statues in the disposition and repartition of which it is difficult to determine any plan. But links are forged between many of these divine representations not only in literary legends and oral folk-tales but also by pilgrimages. The *pradakṣinā*, the clockwise circumambulation of a single shrine or statue or *stūpa* - in this latter case the worshipper will pass successively before the four images of the Jina on the circumference of the edifice - has also a wider connotation. Pilgrim-circuits link together widely separated shrines;[12] and monthly festivals may be held at each, grouping together on each occasion assemblies in which the majority is composed of the same individuals.

The links forged between a particular divinity, its images and its worshippers are multiple. They include initiations, consecrations, gifts and services rendered to the divinities, their representations and their officiants, participation in state, *guṭhi* and neighbourhood rituals as well as individual acts of daily or periodical worship. The Hindu Newar does not become Hindu spontaneously any more than his art is spontaneously Hinduist. The full series of sixteen Hindu *saṁskāras* is no longer operative in the Newar community; but several of these "purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual so that he may become a full-fledged member of the [Hindu] community"[13] are still in current practice in Nepal. An individual's birth, the giving of his name, the first occasion on which he leaves the house in which he was born, the first time he partakes of solid food, his initiation to manhood, his marriage and his death ceremonies all integrate him, ritually to the Hindu community. These *saṁskāras* mark the stages in life along the way to a Hindu death, and the reintegration of the individual in the Hindu absolute, Brahmā.

Let us now consider particular divinities in their local setting. We shall begin with Gaṇeś, for 33
Gaṇeś is the first divinity to be worshipped in practically every ritual. No town, no quarter is without its Gaṇeś, and many private houses have their own Gaṇeś. His popularity is due to his being the god of success (*siddhi*, skt): his main activity is to remove obstacles which hinder the realisation of the projects of his worshippers. Generally he is represented as an elephant in a sitting posture, and he is often thickly covered with a cloak of vermilion daubings. His images are many; and four of his most famous temples are at Cobhar (Vighna Vinayak), Kathmandu (Aśok Vinayak), Sankhu (Siddhi Vinayak) and close to Bhaktapur (Surje Vinayak). The image of Gaṇeś which stands before the Taleju temple in Bhaktapur itself is reputed to be that of a South Indian Brahmin. The festival of Gaṇeś, his *jātrā*, falls on different days in different places.[14] For example, on the fourth day of the waning moon in our September-October, a Kathmand Gaṇeś from a Kasai household goes to visit his father, Pachali Bhairab, who lives near the bank of the Bagmātī river, between Kalimati and Tripureṣor. On this occasion, the role of the wife of Pachali Bhairab, the step-mother of Gaṇeś, is played by a Jyapu. While Gaṇeś is thought of primarily as a Brahmanical deity, he also stands guard, on occasion, as a monastery door-keeper; this does not prevent him from receiving elsewhere animal sacrifices in the manner of the Śakti deities. The number of his hands vary between four and twenty; but one right hand always carries a radish while one left hand holds a sweetmeat. His right foot is placed on a rat, his vehicle. Gaṇeś was already worshipped in India in the fifth or sixth centuries.

Gaṇeś has a sister, Sarasvatī, who is the goddess of learning. The fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Māgh (January-February) is known as Vasanta Pañcami, the day of the coming of Spring. On this day Sarasvatī is thought to visit the valley in person and she is worshipped with particular reverence on Svayambhunāth hillock. There her image is massaged with oil to ease the pains of her journey. On this same day, young children in school and at home are first taught the letters of the alphabet. When they become older, this same day may be chosen for their wedding day, for in popular belief it is a most auspicious day for important undertakings. Sarasvatī is generally represented dressed in white, seated in a lotus on a white swan. Many people worship not only her image but also her instruments, pens, ink, pencils and books; spinners and weavers also worship her spinning wheel.[15] Some say that she is one of the two wives of Mañjuśrī, the other, in this case being Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune. But Varadā and Mokṣadā are also said to be the wives of Mañjuśrī. 29

Multiple interpretations of the same facts are frequent in the valley. In the precincts of the temple of Guhyeṣori, near Paśupatināth, there is a hole in the ground. By Buddhists this is said to

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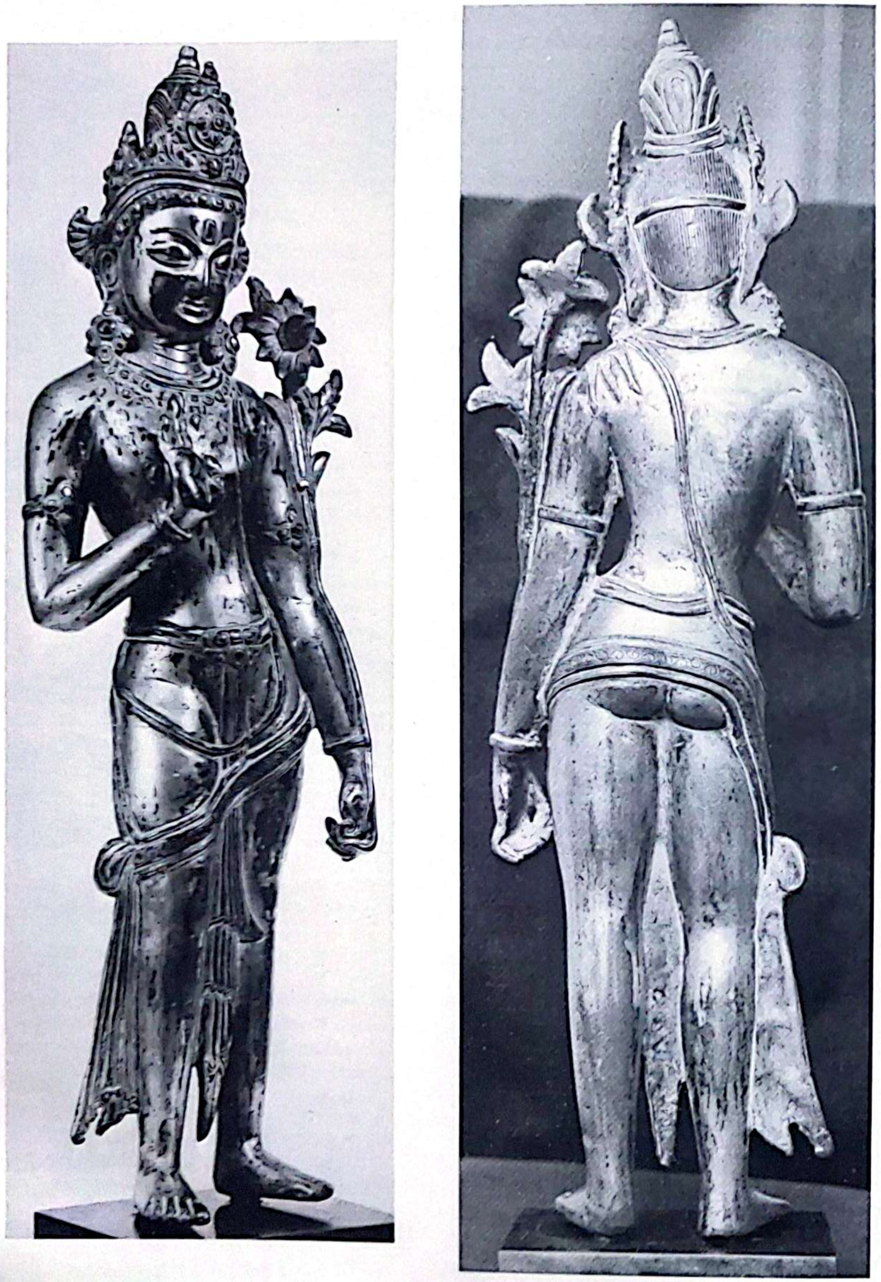
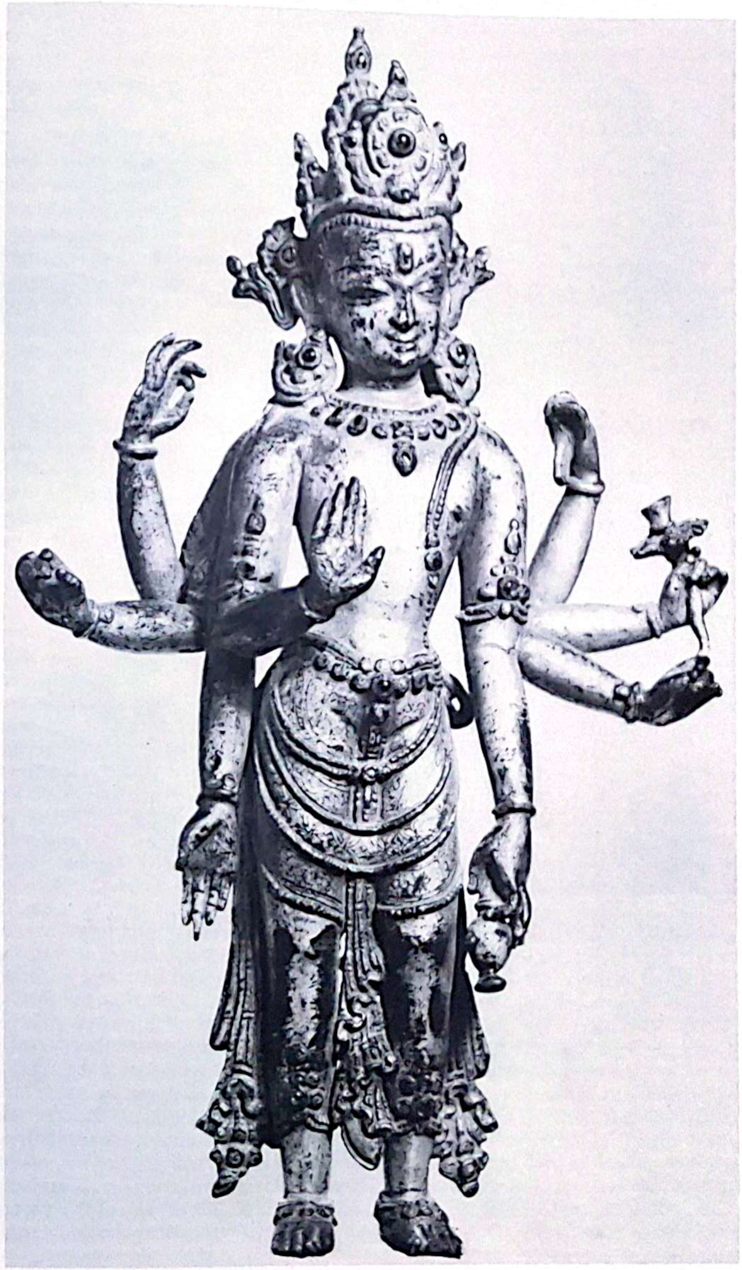


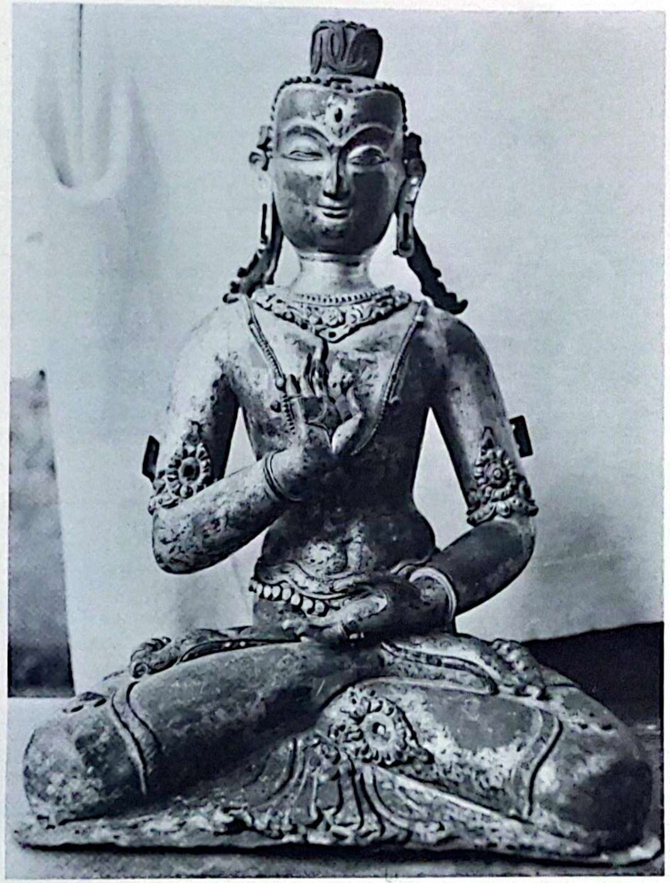
30, 30a. *Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāni in bronze. Private collection. Height: 38 cm. 15th-16th century.*



31. *Bronze Amoghapāśa. Collection: J. Gelpey. Height: 19 cm.*

be where the root of the lotus, on which the Ādi-Buddha became manifest as a flame at Svayambhu, is situated. For Hindus, on the other hand, this hole is the vagina of Uma-Parvatī. When Parvatī, in
3 shame at her father's insult to her husband, threw herself into the sacrificial fire, Mahādeb, mad with grief, took her body from the flames and, carrying it on his shoulders, wandered throughout the Himālaya. Different parts of the corpse in decomposition fell to the ground at different places. Thus it was that her *yoni* fell at its present site. Others again equate this hole with the anus of Satya Devī. However the tale is told, there is always water in this pit (*kuṇḍa*); and this suggests that the pit opens onto a spring. "A red clay water vessel or *kalas* filled with home-made liquors, which mother goddesses are thought to relish, is removed from the *pith* when devotees, hundreds daily, come to strew offerings in and about the *kunda* - eggs, fish, liquors, flowers, rice, red powder and coins. The supplicant scoops out a handful of the holy liquid and floating offerings to sprinkle over their heads and into their mouth as a powerful *prasad* gift or blessing thought to come directly from the goddess Guhyeṣori".[16] At Taleju temple in Kathmandu there is another *kalas* which represents Guhyesori. This *kalas* is brought from Kathmandu to Sleemantak Ban, the wooded hill near Paśupatināth where, on the tenth day of the waning moon in our November-December, she is worshipped every year for a day and a night alongside her double.[17]

The Newar common man does not have the erudition and the experience of a Banerjea nor does the ordinary woman have the expert knowledge and the clarity of expression of a de Mallmann.[18] So while multiple identifications are frequent, wrong identifications may also be advanced. The western tourist who questions the first local inhabitant to pass by an image which he, the tourist, has difficulty in identifying, may well get an unsatisfactory answer. This is in no way surprising. The passer-by may have been far from his local area; he may have felt he should not disclose the name of the god to this inquisitive foreigner: there are a variety of valid reasons for the communication of inexact information in such contexts. However, straightforward errors are often committed in the
2 case of personages such as Tārā, Lakṣmī, Bhagavatī and others. Such mistakes are easy to understand when one considers the complexity of the beliefs associated with particular members of the pantheon in the local chronicles. Let us take as an example a nineteenth century chronicler's account of the deeds of Mañjuśrī. Padmagiri tells us that the valley was originally a lake which was ruled over by the serpent Karkoṭaka, whose wife was named Kālī.[19] The lake was called Nāgbās; and to the north of Nāgbās, in the country of Cina, there was a great city named Mahācina,[20] surrounded by seven high walls and seven deep ditches. Inside this city was a square mountain with five peaks, known as Pañca-śirsa.[21] One peak was situated in the centre, one at each of the cardinal points. On the central peak there was a lake and, in the midst of this lake, there was a square of white stone, and on this stone a temple. The temple was made of precious stones and its pillars were of gold. In the centre of the temple was a golden *simhāsana,* a lion's throne, on which sat Mañjuśrī, the incarnation of Viśvakarman, the Universal Architect, in company with his two wives who, in this case, are Kesnī and Upakesnī. In the course of his meditations, Mañjuśrī perceived that there was a golden lotus floating on the Nāgbās lake, and that in this lotus there was a flame-like divinity. So Mañjuśrī, mounted on a lion, and accompanied by his two queens and his counsellor Dharmapāl and his pupils, set out for the Nāgbās lake. He held in his right hand the sword Candrahās, and in his left, the sacred book *Prajña.* On his arrival at the lake, he offered jewels to the flame-like deity, and worshipped it. He then decided to dry up the lake and to build a city so that people could come and worship there. He walked round the lake to the south-west corner where, with his sword, he hacked a cleft in the surrounding mountains. When the waters ran out, he blocked Karkoṭaka's exit with his sword and confined the serpent-king in the small lake called Dhandah which still subsisted in the valley. Karkoṭaka was allowed to keep his jewels, riches and property but in exchange was given the charge of assuring that rain would always fall in due season for the future population of the area. While verifying that the rest of the water had run out of the valley, Mañjuśrī came on the tendrils of the lotus and followed them to their roots. There he discovered a stream, and thinking it would counter the execution of his plans, he began to pray. Guhyeṣorī revealed herself to him in his prayers, and granted him a boon. He was thus able to lay the foundations of the Svayambhu *caitya,* covering the golden lotus with mud and stones. On the spot where Guhyeṣorī had revealed herself, he made a temple in the form of a three-leaf lotus. Some days later, midway between the temples of Svayambhu and Guhyeṣorī, he built a beautiful city, surrounded by a high wall. Around it he planted several sorts of trees. Padmagiri's description of the city is as follows: "For the city he constructed eight gates in the eight directions, and in the centre of the city he built a darbar or court with four golden gates,



32. *Bronze Amoghasiddhi at Chowni Museum. 16th century. Height:* circa *40 cm.*

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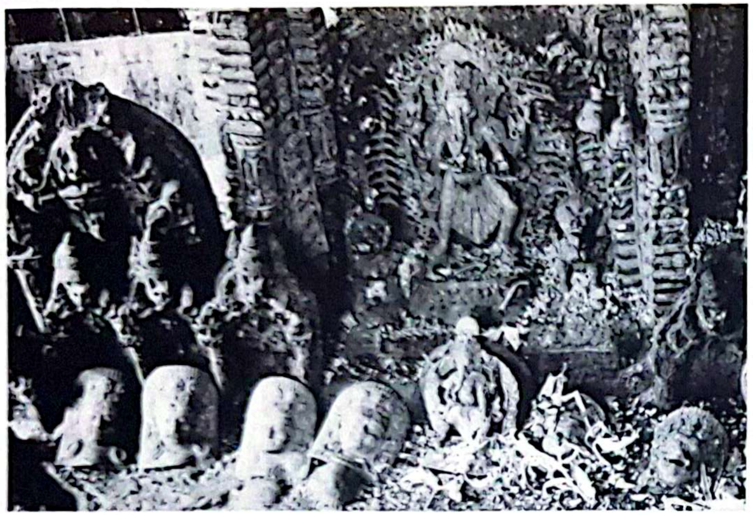
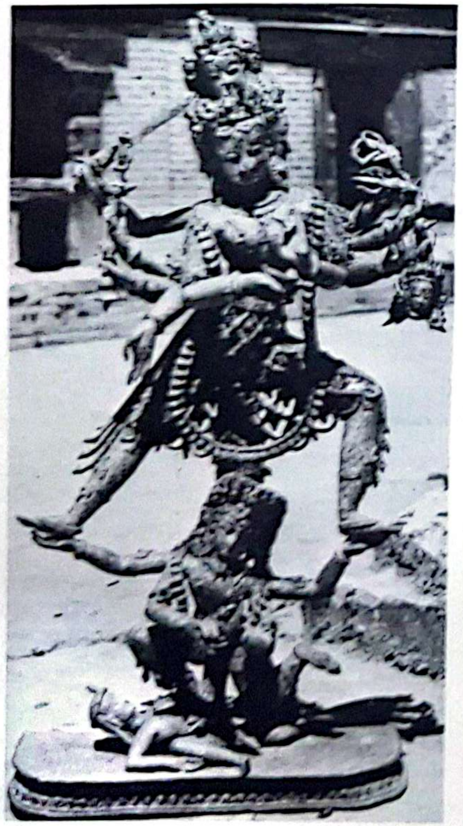
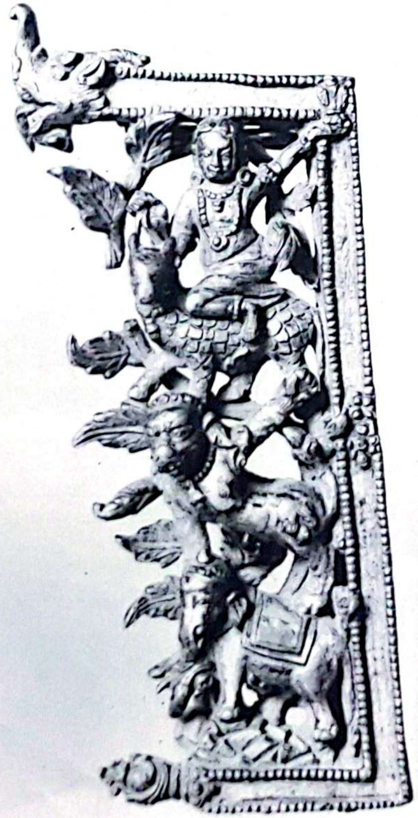


33. *Gaṇeśa with the bronze masks of the mātṛkā at Bāl kumārī temple, Patan.*



34. *Bronze representing Siddhi Lakṣmī in Patan Museum. Height: circa 50 cm.*



35. *Detail of a larger bronze piece, 16-17th century. Hierarchy of supporters as in front of Nyatāpola or other Śaivite temples. Height: 11 cm. Collection S. Eilenberg.*

placing on the entableture of the gates the *aṣṭamaṅgala* and the torus. The golden portals of the gates were set with rubies and emeralds, and on both sides of the doors were placed two images of the *viras* (demi-gods) and in front of the court he erected a pillar of crystal, surmounted by the golden likeness of a lion; and near it he built a temple the windows of which were of gold and silver, set with precious stones and adorned with the images of gods and goddesses. The roof of the temple was of gold and on the top of it was set a golden *caitya.* Again, near the temple, he dug out a tank and named it Padmakara, and planted a garden; and the city was called Mañjupatten (the city of Mañju) after his name."[22] The government of the city was entrusted to the minister who had accompanied Mañjuśrī from Mahācina. The latter was enthroned and crowned as Raja Dharmakār, the first king of Nepal. Dharmakar promised to obey the injunctions of Mañjuśrī and to worship daily Svayambhu and Guhyeṣori. After his coronation, Dharmakār built a *vihār* and placed in it three golden images: of Mañjuśrī, Varada Devī and Mucada Devī.

Certain aspects of the chronicler's tale should be stressed before we examine other members of the pantheon and their representations. The importance accorded in popular western accounts to the sword-thrust which emptied out the original lake, has somewhat obscured the fact that Mañjuśrī is presented locally as a builder. For Padmagiri, it was Mañjuśrī who first modified the landscape of the valley, who laid the first temple foundations, who built the first city, made the first artificial lake, and planted the first garden. We are not concerned here with the reality of our chronicler's affirmations. What we retain is that when, in the nineteenth century, he sets the scene for the inauguration of a human dynasty in Nepal, he associates the installation of the first king with the construction of a large number of public works of a mainly religious nature. Again and again one will find the cultural heroes of Nepal's past depicted in the chronicles in a similar perspective.[23] In this case, Mañjuśrī is even identified with the Indian Universal architect, Viśvakarman. There is no doubt, however, as John Brough and Etienne Lamotte have convincingly shown, that the literary cycle of Mañjuśrī is not ancient in Nepal, and that it has been constructed, in comparatively recent times, on earlier legends concerning Khotan.[24]

Thus far we have drawn attention to the four-fold and eight-fold representations of divinity as Buddhist historical facts and as sculptured realities. Let us now give some Hindu examples of these schema, culled this time from legends. It is said that at the beginning of the *Kāli-yug* a king called Dharmadatta asked his *guru* to tell him about the origin of Nepal. The reply was as follows: "All the deities have settled here and it is out of human power to tell and know all about them. Each of these deities has assumed four different names and forms, such as Gaṇeś who is worshipped by four different names . . . So also the four names of Kālī are Vatsalā, Mahā-Kālī, Dakṣina-Kālī and Guhyā Kālī. And the names of the Kumārīs are Kuācha Bāla Kumārī of Patan, the Themi Bāla Kumārī, the Mayāti Bāla Kumārī and the Kumaridang Bāla Kumārī. The names of the four chief streams are Vāgmati, Maṇimatī, Rudramatī and Viṣṇumatī. The four smaller streams of Nepal are called Prabhāvati, Hanumatī, Sakrdaramati and Bhānumati. The four Vārāhīs are the Sveta Vārāhī to the north, Nila Vārāhī to the east, Vajra Vārāhī to the south, and Dhantila Vārāhī to the west. The four Mahā Lakṣmis are those of Khokhana, of Lagantol, of Bore and of Thache Pīṭha. The four Vaiṣṇavis are those of Yepia Pīṭha, of Tondal, of Cangu Pīṭha and of Bhajañgu. The above mentioned are the *yugade* or original divinities . . . "[25] The same text goes on to explain the arrival of the nine Durgās: Vajreśvarī; Koṭeśvarī; Jhaṅgeśvarī; Bhuvaneśvarī; Maṅgaleśvarī; Guhyeśvarī; Vatbaleśvarī; Rāleśvarī and Jayagesvari. These are described as "the original Durgās of the country of Nepal"; and the coming of sixty-four *devatās* to Nepal after these earlier lots of four and nine divinities. So we find the same pattern of expansion (Paśupati alone, then groups of four divinities which are in reality one, followed by nine manifestations of one divinity) in legend as we do on the ground. We never seem to find, in legend or in archaeology a pattern of reduction from say, eight to one, through four.

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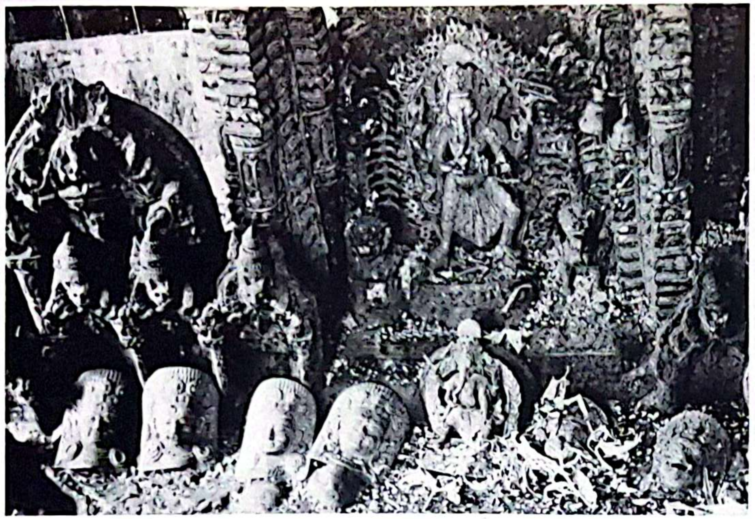

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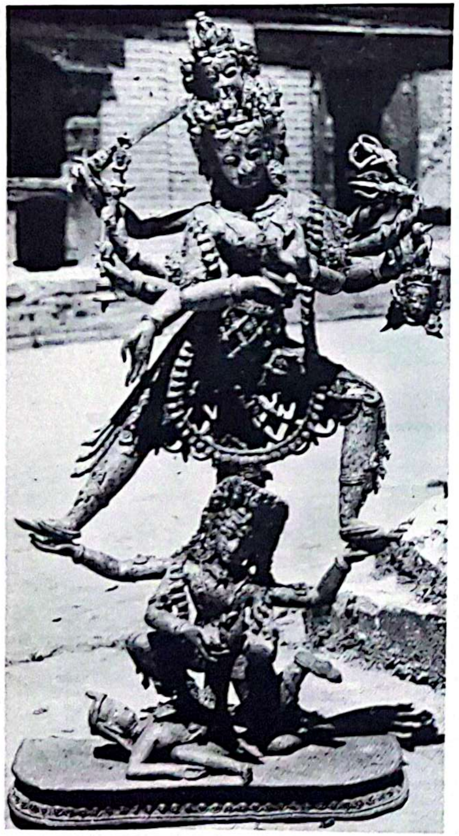

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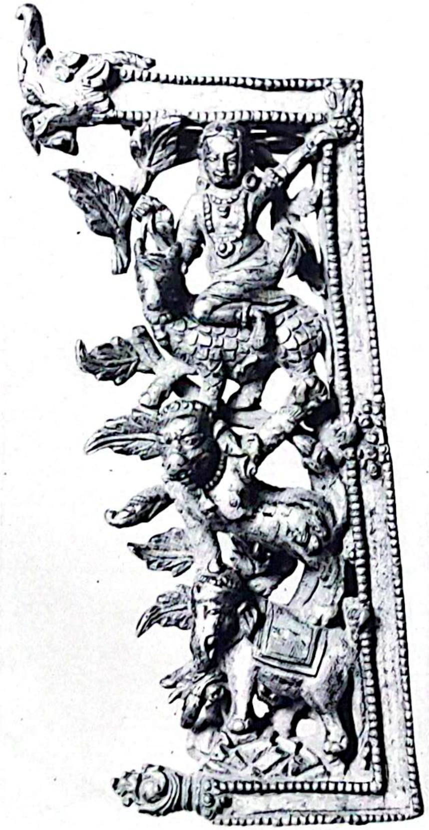

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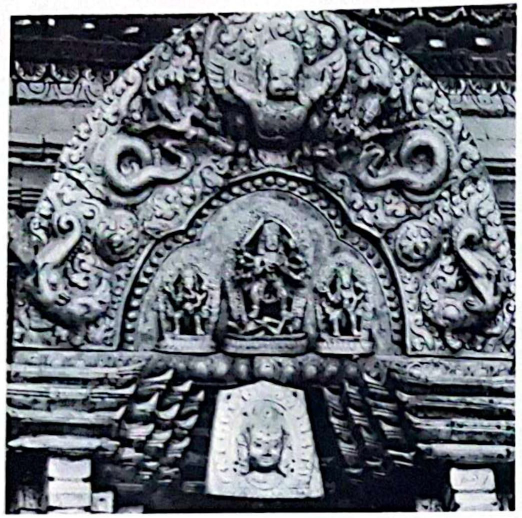
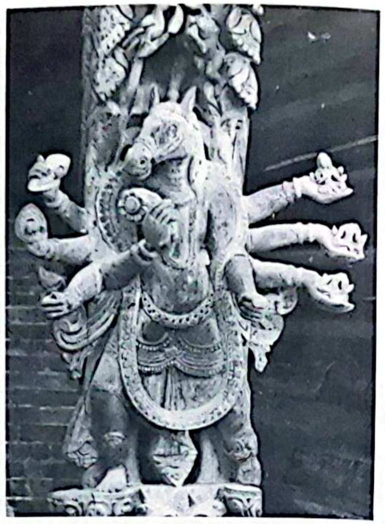
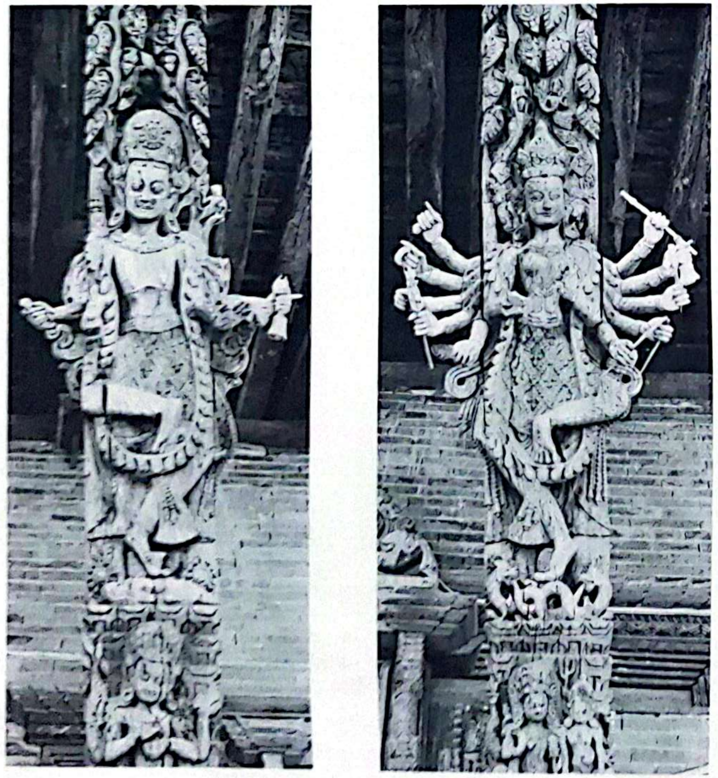


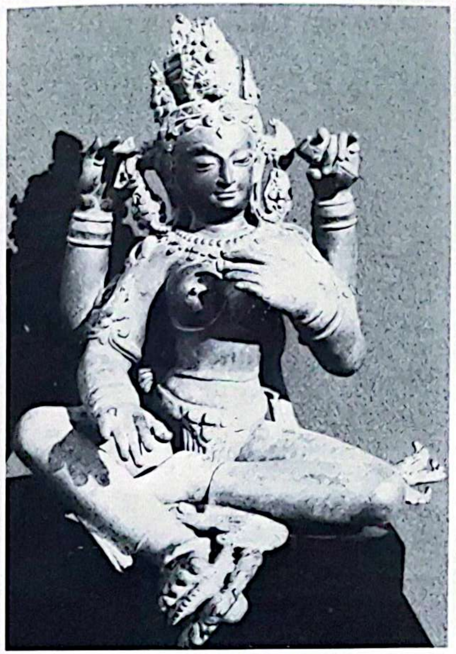
36. Toraṇa *of the temple of Ākāśa Bhairava at Bhaktapur, showing the mask of Ākāśa Bhairava.*



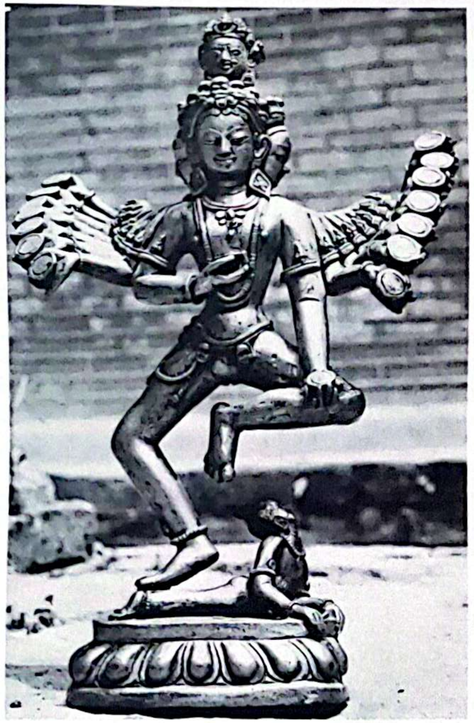
37. Wooden strut representing Hayagrīva. 16th-17th cent



38. Wooden struts at Māhādev Temple at Sulim Tol (Patan). Constructed 16th century.



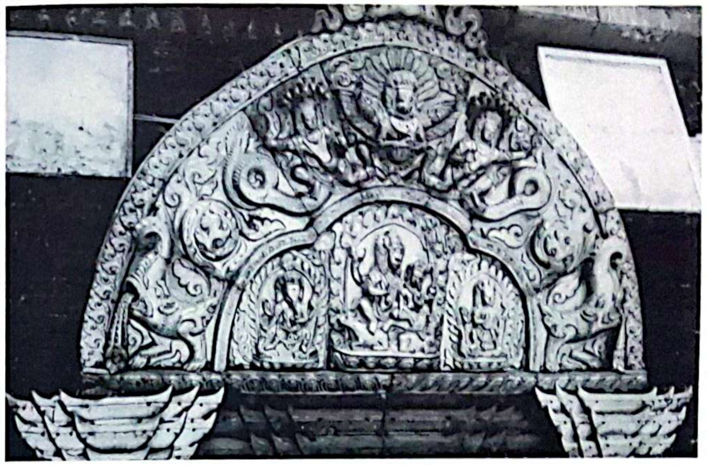
39. Bronze statue of Vasundharā. Height: circa 50 cm. Collection E. de Rouvre, Paris. 16th century.



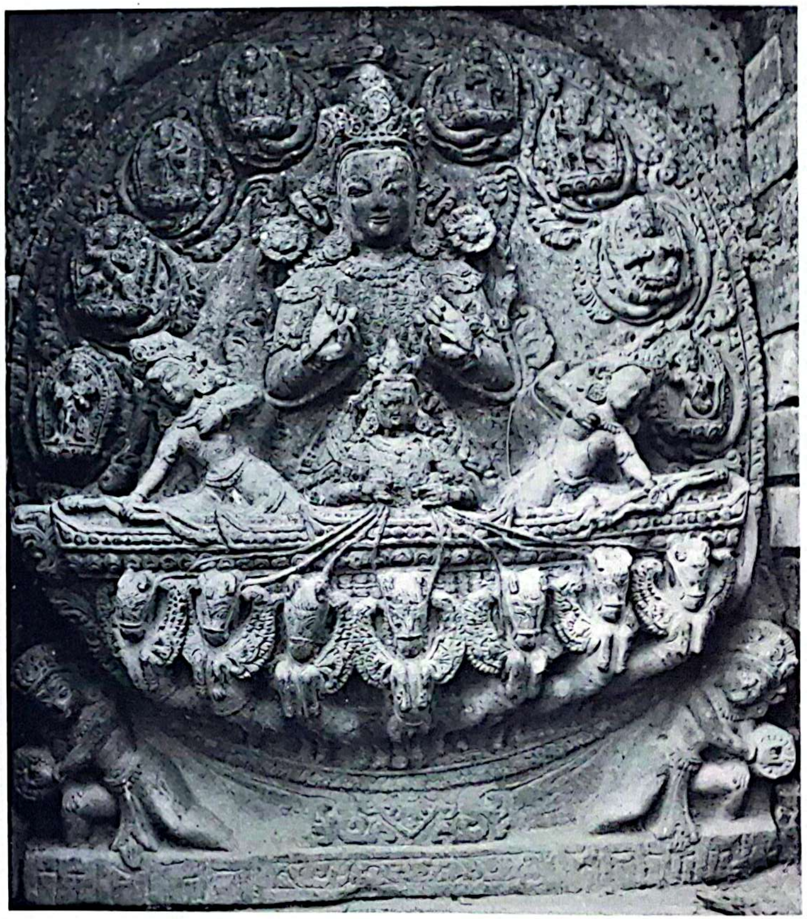
40. Gilt bronze of Hevajra at Patan Museum. Height: circa 35 cm. 17th century.

28 lake into the valley of Kathmandu. Others say that he first came into the valley in the form of a deer, and stayed on there in company with the Śes nāg, the serpent of the underworld, and a cow. Again, Viṣṇu is adored in his other incarnations as a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, a dwarf, as Rāma, as Kṛṣṇa and as the young hero Paraśurāma as well as the Buddha. He is embodied in the pipul tree, in saligrams, in darbha grass and in the tulsi plant which is worshipped daily by every Visṇumargi
42 household. He is also identified with Surje, the ancient sun-god. And at Bura Nilakantha he is represented by a huge stone figure reclining on the Śes-nāg in the middle of a large artificial tank. In a sense all Newar women are Viṣṇu's wives: if the *i-hy* ceremony[26] has been accomplished on their behalf, Śiva himself in the form of a *bel* fruit was present as witness to this union: so they can divorce their mortal husbands or marry again after their deaths without provoking any social or divine sanction. We emphasized above the role of the *saṁskāras* in shaping the lives of men to a Hindu pattern; in this series the *i-hy* seems to be quite exceptional. One is tempted to say that the *i-hy*, by linking women to the divinity, frees them for life in this world whereas the male *saṁskāras* emprison men in the social life of this world with the promise of freedom in the next.

22 The principle Śiva temple, known as Paśupatināth, lies a few miles to the East of the capital, Kathmandu. It is built round a stone phallus. Here, too, legend maintains that the original shrine was built over a flame. Other versions say that the original *liṅga* was made from one of the antlers of the deer in which Śiva took form when he came to the valley. On the eighth day of the clear fortnight of the month of Kartik, the *liṅga* is covered with a hooding crown and on that day Buddhists also worship it. It must however be stressed that it is Svayambhunāth and not Paśupatināth which is the most important religious centre for the Newars, whether they be residents of Bhaktapur, Patan or Kathmandu or simply valley farmers. For Sylvain Lévi, "Paśupati, just like Matsyendranāth,
45 is the work of those wandering Jogis, philosophers, charlatans, tricksters, illuminati who founded and maintained throughout time, in despite of superficial events, the unity of India. Drawn towards the Himālaya, filled with the presence of their god, on the way to the inaccessible summit of Kailasa or the frozen lake of Gosainthān which reveals, but does not let one reach, a natural image of Śiva, the *jogis* replaced a local divinity by their god. It could be that this name of Paśupati reflects a spirit of the herds, dating back to the time of the pastoral tribes which formerly peopled the valley, as they still people the hill districts of the area. The metamorphosis of the god into a beast (*mṛga*) figures, in brahmanical terms, the incorporation into Śaivaism of a local cult rendered to animals, the elements of this ancient cult being split between the god Śiva and the bull Nandi (present, too, in stone at Gosainthān) his mount, his companion and his watchful guardian. Be this as it may, the metamorphosis attests to and underscores the mechanism of the techniques of ancient Indian expansion and the continuity of the efforts of the brahmanical missionaries."[27] Whatever the origins of the image at Paśupatināth, it epitomizes, today, the kingdom and the royal domain. The land of Nepal is still, in popular thought, the spouse of its sovereign; and the Paśupati *liṅga* is worshipped regularly by the sovereign, who visits it whenever he leaves his kingdom to travel in foreign lands. The *liṅga* owes its fortune to its link with royal power. Its reputation can be contrasted with that of the hidden Mahādeo, the Lukum dyo, which, because it has never been promoted, along with its worshippers, to high rank, remains almost anonymous, although it too is a manifestation of Śiva. "Almost every old quadrangle in the city of Kathmandu has a small smooth pebble hidden in its centre. This pebble is called Luku Mahdyo or hidden Mahadev. On the eve of Gode Jatra" - to be precise, on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Cait - "the pebble is dug up and exposed to public view. The householders around the quadrangle worship Mahadev with all offerings. Small children collect faggots from the neighbourhood and burn them before the pebble, supposedly to give warmth to the Mahadev. For the rest of the year, the god remains generally neglected".[28] The reputation of these stones remains enclosed in a local context. They are Śivas: they are not the Śiva of the kingdom. Despite the important place he occupies in the Hindu trinity alongside Viṣṇu and Brahma - the latter in Nepal, as in India itself, never seems to have been the centre of a popular cult, although splendid images of him go back to the Licchavi period - Śiva is by no means always linked to royal power. As Nasa dyo he is the patron of Newar musical groups and of dancing[29] and in this case is represented by a triangular niche in the back-walls of Śaiva temples, and sometimes individual temples are dedicated to him. Newars identify this form with Nṛtyanāth, the Lord of the Dance; but here he is not figured dancing, in anthropomorphic form, as is the case in South India. Other local manifestations of Śiva which are important, and which are worshipped in the form of images, are
59 the Bhairavas. In Kathmandu Ākāś Bhairab is considered as the guardian deity of Indra cok; but in



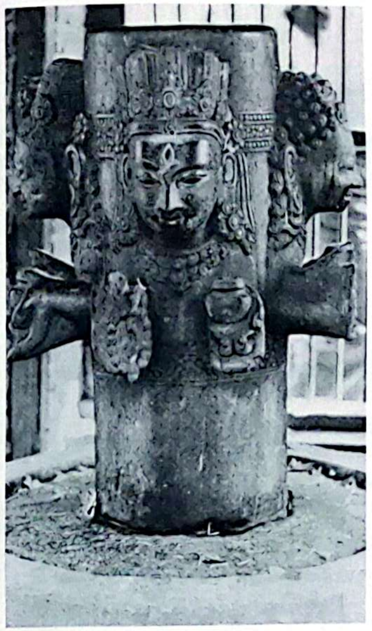
41. *Gilt* torana *representing Śiva-Parvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kumāra. 17th century.*



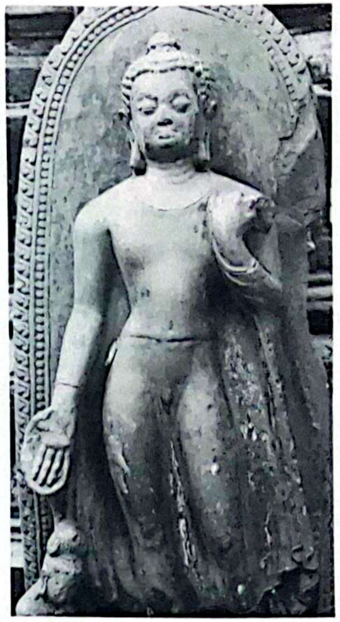
42. *Stone Sūrya. Panauti, close by Indreṣor Mahādev temple. 16th century.*

67 Bhaktapur his domain is wider, and it is at the level of the whole township that he occupies an important place in the Bisket-jātrā. The huge black statue of Kāla Bhirab in Kathmandu, close by the Hanuman Dhoka, is one of the best-known Bhairab images. Unlike Ākāś Bhairab at Bhaktapur, this statue has no festival. But anyone who tells a lie in its presence is reputed to die rapidly, vomiting blood - Bhairab is considered as always thirsting for blood - and Government officials used to be sworn in in presence of this divinity when they were appointed or re-appointed to their charges.[30] Another interesting form of Bhairab is Bāgh Bhairab, the protective divinity of Kirtipur, which is represented in the form of a tiger, open-mouthed and tongueless. The first day of the dark fortnight of Bhadra, there is a festival in his honour. Legend links the image to a clay form of a tiger, made by cowherds in the days when Kirtipur was still covered by jungle. When they left the clay-image to find a leaf to insert as its tongue, they discovered on their return that their cattle had been eaten by a real tiger. To this day, a Jyāpu family has the hereditary charge of bringing a leaf to put in the tiger's mouth. The *dyo pāla,* the custodian of the shrine in charge of daily worship is a Kusle.[31] The multiple images of Bhairab differ in their iconography, are particularised by local legends and their roles in local festivals. In classical Hinduism, Śiva is the destroyer in the form of Bhairav and Viṣṇu the preserver; but in Nepal the image of Śiva seems to be associated with the idea of movement. This is particularly evident on the ninth day of Dasāi when means of locomotion of all sorts - carts, cars, trucks and motor-cycles - receive the blood of sacrificed fowls and goats. On one occasion at least, the cinema projector at the French cultural centre in Kathmandu was blooded in like manner. The figure of Bhairab is present on the great wooden wheels of the *rath* which transport the images of Matsyendranāth[32] and the Kumārī as well as that at Bhaktapur; and before the *rath* sets out on its journey these are worshipped with appropriate offerings. Unmatta Bhairab is represented, close to Paśupatināth, by a large stone image with an erect penis. It is noteworthy that the worship of this organ by women is said to induce sexual desire and is not equated with the cure of sterility but of frigidity.[33] The glance of Bhairab is destructive and it is face-downwards that he is figured by four large flat stones occupying a rough rectangle, close to the temple of Tripurasundarī in Bhaktapur. At least one of these stones, that closest to the temple, is still uncovered and worshipped on the last night of Dasāī.

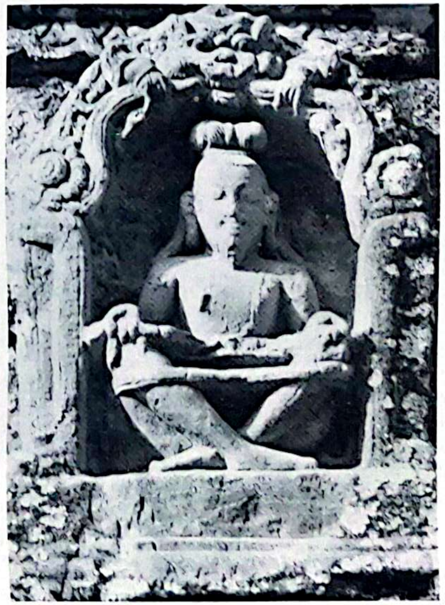
We have already spoken of the female counterparts of male Buddhist divinities. Guhyeṣorī's standing, among both Buddhists and Hindus, is on a par with that of Paśupati. It is significant that she, too, is represented, outside her main shrine, by unworked stones or by triangular holes in brick or stone supports; she is not represented in physical form. There are, of course, numerous other representations of Durgā and of Kālī throughout the valley. The most famed temple of Kālī is at Dakkhin Kālī, in the south-west; there she is represented by a figure of distinctly mongoloid apparence. Parvatī, the wife of Śiva, and Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune in Hindu eyes, are present in many public statues; Vasudhara, also, the Buddhist goddess of wealth and abundance, has been portrayed in many beautiful six-armed statues, two of which have recently been published by Pratapaditya Pal.[34] We do not have to concern ourselves with the various Kumārī, who are physical personifications of the Devī, but we may note that in their case, too, a certain order of precedence has been established. While the Kathmandu Kumārī, to whom the sovereign pays hommage and from whom, in the eyes of many, he derives his mandate to rule the country, still occupies, in the Kumārī *jātrā,* an important role in the religious life of the land whereas the lesser Kumārī have
52 comparatively little importance in Newar social life. Bhagavatī is very popular and as Mary Slusser has remarked, her popularity has led her to be confounded - perhaps because of her multiple arms - with images of other lesser figures such as Kartikeya and Arddhanārīśvara.[35] Four *joginīs,* those known as Bajra joginī, Bijeśvorī joginī, Khadga joginī and Nila Tārā joginī have their annual festivals and are worshipped regularly by Newars who offer them animal sacrifices and liquor. The images and the roles of the Mātṛkā will be dealt with in the section concerning the śaivite temples. A full understanding of the divine and social roles of individual members of the pantheon can only be based on a careful consideration of the context in which the divinity and/or its image is worshipped. While most schemes of worship are undoubtedly founded in Indian models of ritual,[36] space does not allow us to differentiate the rituals followed in the many possible different contexts: a full monograph would be required to show how patrilineage and ancestral cults are enmeshed in local, district and national ceremonies and festivals. What we have sought to underline is the multiplicity and the variety of representations of the same divinity. Śiva can be embodied in a statue, a stone, a liṅga, and many other forms. The avatārs of Viṣṇu and their representations are so numerous and so varied that the



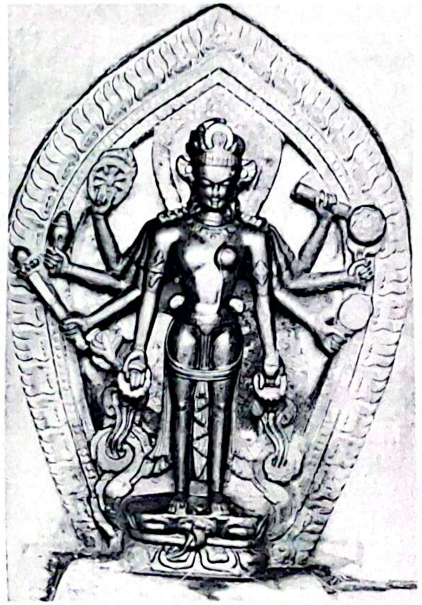
43. *Representations of the Four* Veda *on a* liṅga *at Nala. 17th century.*



44. *Stone Buddha at Atha-Bāhā in Patan. 10th-11th century.*



45. *Stone* jogin *at Deu Patan; detail of a* śikhara.



46. *Stone Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa at Bhaktapur (Nasamana tol). 11th century.*

western mind has difficulty in equating each and all, ultimately, with one god. The *Nepāla Mahātmyā* tells us that "to worship the Buddha is to worship Śiva" and the incorporation of the Buddha himself, along with Kṛṣṇa in the series of Viṣṇu's *avatārs* points to the incorporation of Buddhism in a general Indian pattern of the entire local pantheon. The multiplicity and the variety of the representations of the greater divinities demonstrates not only their adaptability to different human needs in differing contexts but also the antiquity of their local prestige. Viṣṇu and Śiva, along with the Buddha and the great Bodhisattvas, in their omnipresent flexibility remind one inevitably of the Primaeval Puruṣa who covered the earth with his thousand heads, his thousand eyes and his thousand feet. If the presence of a powerful god or goddess is diffused outwards through relays of varying representations and supports towards a multi-ethnic and caste-differentiated clientele it is also worthy of note that a like clientele can associate in the worship of one image which is, according to all accounts, a roughly hewn block of wood, about three feet in height, two-armed, but without distinguishable features. The cult of Matsyendranāth has been studied by Father John Locke, S. J., in a recent book[37] and in an important thesis which is as yet unpublished. In popular belief, Matsyendranāth is the rain bringer. His arrival in the valley is linked, in legend, to a prolonged drought caused by his pupil Gorakhnāth who emprisoned nine local Nāgas and stopped them from bringing rain for a period of twelve years. On the sollicitation of King Narendra Deva of Patan and his spiritual adviser, Matsyedranāth entered the valley in the form of a bee and put an end to the drought. The image of Matsyendranāth to which we referred above is lodged for six **47** months of the year in Patan and for six months in Bunga, a small village some miles south-west of Patan. Today this image is the focal point of a whole series of rituals and festivities which make of it one of the national deities of Nepal. The sex of the deity is indeterminate. For some he is a local, pre-buddhist godling; for others he is the *kwapa dyo* of the Buddhist *saṃgha* of Bunga; for some he **30** is the bodhisattva Padmapāṇi Lokeṣor alias Avalokiteśvara, a personification of the merciful regard of the Buddha towards all suffering beings; to others, he is Śiva or Śakti or a manifestation of Viṣṇu; to the people at large he is Matsyendranāth. What is particularly striking, which is not to disentangle the multiple facets of a particularly divine personage, is that representations of Padmapāṇi-Lokeṣor elsewhere in the valley constitute some of the most strikingly beautiful anthropomorphic statues in Nepal. The devotion which the person of the Bodhisattva of infinite compassion has always inspired, **64** has produced some of the finest bronzes in Nepal. His cult goes back to the sixth century of our era; and, as P. Pal has very rightly remarked, the Dhvāka Bāhā Padmapāṇi "remained the model for almost the next thousand years."[38] So in this case we see that a rough figure of a divinity may be conserved for many long years as an object of worship whereas the same god can be likewise re-fashioned in a quite different, and in our eyes beautiful, model throughout centuries.

Nepalese religion is often depicted as a synthesis or a syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism rooted in an all-pervasive animism. This formulation is unsatisfactory in many ways, and does not permit one to determine, with any exactitude, the religious behaviour of the individual Newar. The religion of the individual, the manner in which the pantheon is lived by him, is something totally distinct from the manner in which that pantheon is studied objectively by the scientific observer. The society into which the Newar is born proposes a certain spectrum of divinities, powers which may aid or hinder him in his everyday pursuits. His family context, his caste, the profession of his father, the social rank he has inherited, will urge him to conform to certain patterns of worship and social behaviour, in a word will inform him of the techniques whereby he may live in harmony with his neighbours and with the larger worlds of Newar and Nepalese society. During his adolescence the *saṃskāra* put the individual into the mould of a certain life-pattern, and Buddhist rituals and teachings play a corresponding role. Generally the individual does not opt out of the social and religious Establishment. Material more than caste considerations may today influence the role which he elects to play in society. The religious choices he makes will be a personal matter: one god will receive his supplications and his favour whereas another will not: he will be present at certain festivals, absent from others. His public role as a citizen may not be, often is not, the expression of his private religious choices. The pressure of society and of the religious milieu is undoubtedly strong; but in the last resort the individual himself elects the gods he worships and adjusts his own attitude towards them and to his ancestors in the presence of his descendance. At one end of the social hierarchy there is the sovereign, the embodiment of Viṣṇu, Indra's double on this earth, who adjusts the microcosm of his kingdom to the divine macrocosm of the world of the gods. At the other end there is the individual who by the religious and social roles he elects to play, assumes his place in the social and religious compact of which the sovereign is the head. If the divine forms with which the individual is confronted in his choice are multitudinous and of seemingly infinite variety this is because the society of the Valley is a complex one. The individual will honour alternately Hindu and Buddhist gods as well as local spirits. By so doing he will not so much place himself in a Hindu or a Buddhist or an Animistic role as find himself as a man and identify himself with his country.

The pantheon itself cannot be separated from its supports: the unhewed stone, the image, the *yantra,* the *maṇḍala* and the temple. It is an instrument in the process of Hinduisation. We would agree with Mus that that process is both conscious and deliberate. "It is", he writes, "an ample system of thought which raises high in the centre of all things, architecturally and cosmically, an axis not only of universal reference but of total proliferation. Forms and beings spring from it like the branches of a gigantic tree: this is the Vedic imagery of Agni and it is the Puruṣa, from Vedism to mediaeval Hinduism. This system was then changed into systems by Śaivism and by Viṣṇuism. The Buddhism of the Great Vehicle did not cease to respond - with certain doctrinal reservations - to what local ethno-sociology might think about its totem-poles and search for in them. The religion of the learned, that of the centralising powers, imposed itself in this manner, persuading through analogy rather than by forcing. It was indeed an *information* in the fullest and most comprehensive meaning of the term: not only the accomplishment of local values and impulses but more, their climax, under forms the abundance and complexity of which dominated the little autochtonous forest and tribal cults, models of rustic surveys. The folklore at the base was thus capped and crowned by a state religion, making of the country a universe and tending to make it autonomous, in its historical and geographical setting: *maṇḍala* has this double meaning of magic circle and administrative structure."

"Such was, and such is still, to an appreciable extent, Hinduism".[39]

Notes

1. References to *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvali* manuscripts in Newar scripts can be found in K. R. van Kooij, 'The Iconography of the Buddhist wood-carvings in a Newar monastery in Kathmandu (Chusya-Baha),' in *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre,* vol. I, Humanities, Kathmandu, 1977, p. 44, note 20. It is difficult to determine to what extent the Newar artisans actually consulted Indian architectural treatises such as the *Manasāra* or the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* before executing their compositions. The presence or absence of such a text in a Nepalese library is a positive or negative indication of whether the text could have served for local reference, no more. Much architectural and sculptural know-how is handed down verbally, being learned by heart and transmitted orally. For instance there may well be texts "behind" such information as is contained in the speech recorded in Iswaranand Srestacharya and Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Jyapu Vocabulary* (*Preliminary Report*), Kirtipur, 1976, p. 39-69; and the speaker may never have seen them and know nothing of their existence. While the influence of a written tradition on the work of illiterate artisans must only be evaluated with prudence, the western observers' descriptions of Newar artifacts should always be analysed with reference to the context in which information was acquired. It should be stressed that Brian Hodgson who first informed the western reader about the Newar and Nepalese pantheons did not do so on the sole basis of his personal examination of images. He had undoubtedly seen some of the images he described and he had asked local people questions about them, and understood their replies. However, when he came to write about the pantheons, his descriptions were founded, to a very considerable extent, on the *Dharma-kośa-sangraha* compiled, in 1826, at his request, by Vajrācārya Amṛtānanda. This most interesting document has recently been edited in New Delhi by Dr Lokesh Chandra. Our copy, which we owe to the kindness of Dr Lokesh Chandra, bears no indication of the place or date of publication. Hodgson had put to Amṛtānanda "a set of questions which I desired he would answer from his books" (*Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet,* Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972, p. 35). And Dr Lokesh Chandra aptly remarks, in his useful Preface to his edition of Amṛtānanda's work, that the iconographic classifications it contains "require detailed analysis and comparison with Classical texts" (p. 2 of off-print). It is indeed by no means clear to what extent Amṛtānanda's descriptions and classifications are based on the examination of images which he himself had visited *in situ.* What an author has read is often more real to him than what he has seen.
2. Fragments of creation myths in which the forefathers of humanity alighted in this world are known to Newars. See G. S. Nepali, *The Newars,* Bombay, 1965, p. 287-288 and the reference to Hodgson to be found there. Confer also A. W. Macdonald, *Essays in the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia,* Kathmandu, 1975, p. 75. Myths and stories of creative emergence, as opposed to descent, are rare in Nepal.
3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art,* New York, Dover Publications, 1956, p. 566. For the sources on which these statements are based, see *ibid.*, p. 174-177.
4. Marie-Laure de Labriffe, 'Etude de la fabrication d'une statue au Népal', in *Kailash, A Journal of Himalayan Studies,* Vol. I, no. 3, p. 185-192; Ian Allsop and Jill Charlton, 'Image-casting in Oku-Bahal', in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies,* vol. I, no. 1, Kirtipur, 1973, p. 22-49.
5. Curds, milk, raw sugar, honey and sugar are these five substances.
6. *Biography of Dharmasvamin (Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-re dpal),* Original Tibetan text deciphered by George N. Roerich, Patna, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, XX 1959, p. 6, 54-55.
7. A. Foucher, 'Les débuts de l'art bouddhique,' in *Journal Asiatique,* tome XVII, fasc. I, Paris, 1911, p. 67-68.
8. P. Mus, *Barabudur,* Hanoi, E. F. E. O., 1935, vol. II, p. 667, note 2.
9. See the list of these texts in the section on Patas p. 194, note 29).
10. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,* vol. I, Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1977, p. 13.

11. P. Pal has devoted an article to 'The Uma-Mahesvara Theme in Nepali sculpture' in *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. LXVI, 1968, no. 345, p. 85-100, with illustrations of some fine 13th and 15th century examples.
12. N. Gutschow and Manabajra Bajrācharya, 'Ritual as Mediator of Space in Kathmandu', in *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, Kathmandu, vol. I, p. 1-10, draw attention to three circuits, each linking together eight *pīṭh* of the Aṣṭamātṛkā, the *pīṭhapūjā* consisting of a visit within one year to all twenty-four shrines. In the authors' words "certain places are assembled to form an imaginary *mandala*" (p. 6). The three circuits mentioned above are equated to the three *cakra* in the human body; and these latter in turn are linked to the three bodies (*kāya*) of the Buddha. The establishment of such series of equivalences between the limits of the human body and the outer religious landscape is frequent in local thought but the most convincing examples of these modes of thought are based on texts which specify *which maṇḍala* is referred to by which particular school of thought.
13. R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras (Socio-religious study of the Hindu Sacraments)*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1969, p. 16.
14. On Gaṇeś, see, for instance, Mary M. Anderson, *The Festivals of Nepal*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1971, p. 121-126.
15. On Sarasvatī, see Mary Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 230-233.
16. Mary Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
17. *Ibid.*
18. B. N. Banerjea was the author of the classic work *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1956, and M.-Th. de Mallmann the author of the basic *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Täntrisme bouddhique*, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1975.
19. See Bikrama Jit Hasrat., *The History of Nepal as told by its own and Contemporary Chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur, V. V. Research Institute Press, 1970, p. 5-7.
20. On Mahācina, see R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur le barde et l'épopée au Tibet*, Paris, 1959, Presses Universitaires de France, p. 308, note 77. The seven walls and the seven ditches surrounding Mahācina recall the descriptions of Ekbatana, the ancient capital of the Medes.
21. This is generally identified with the famous Chinese pilgrimage centre the Wou t'ai shan.
22. Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8.
23. See, for instance, the cases of Śanta Śri Ācārya (p. 17-18), of Vikramāditya (p. 28) and of Śivadeva (p. 41) in Hasrat, *op. cit.*
24. E. Lamotte, 'Mañjuśrī' in *T'oung Pao*, vol. XLVIII, p. 54. The legends concerning Khotan are themselves tributary of legends concerning the Himālayan Gandhamadana. On Gandhamadana, see G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London, 1937, I, p. 746-748. Lamotte points out that . . . "as it spreads progressively throughout Central Asia, in Tibet in the Far East, the cult of Mañjuśrī will be invariably localised on a mountain chain composed of five peaks surrounding a lake. This is constantly so." (p. 35). For the iconography of Mañjuśri, see M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Etude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, Paris, Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient vol. 55, 1964.
25. Hasrat, *op. cit.*, p. 24, 25.
26. On this ceremony see A. Stahl, '*Digu-dyo:* divinité classificatoire des Newars' Article to appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*.
27. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. I, p. 365-366.
28. *Kathmandu Valley*, vol. I, p. 51.
29. Mary M. Anderson, *The Festivals of Nepal*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1971, p. 69: "Sithinakha marks the beginning of the rainy season when corn may be planted in the hills and rice sown in beds for later transplantation in the terraced fields. Many on this day place all their musical instruments, a vital part of Newar life, in the custody of Nasa dyo . . . and there they remain until the heavy work is done".
30. Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars*, Bombay, United Asia Publications, 1965, p. 300.
31. G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Mary M. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
32. Mary M. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 58; G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
33. G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
34. P. Pal; *The Arts of Nepal, Part I, Sculpture*, figures 39 and 237.
35. Mary M. Slusser, 'Nepali Sculptures - New Discoveries' in *Aspects of Indian Art* (ed. by P. Pal), Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972, p. 94.
36. On the notion of *pujā*, see L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, Paris, Payot, 1947, vol. I, p. 573-575.
37. *Rāto Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati*, Kirtipur, 1974.
38. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
39. It is noteworthy that these lines which are so appropriate in the context of Nepal were in fact written about another Hinduised country: Cambodia: P. Mus, 'Angkor vu du Japon' in *France Asie*, 17th year, no. 175-176, Tokyo, 1962, p. 534. Although he quotes no reference, Mus was undoubtedly thinking, when he wrote these lines of Paul Thieme's article *Brāhman* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 102, 1952, p. 91-129.

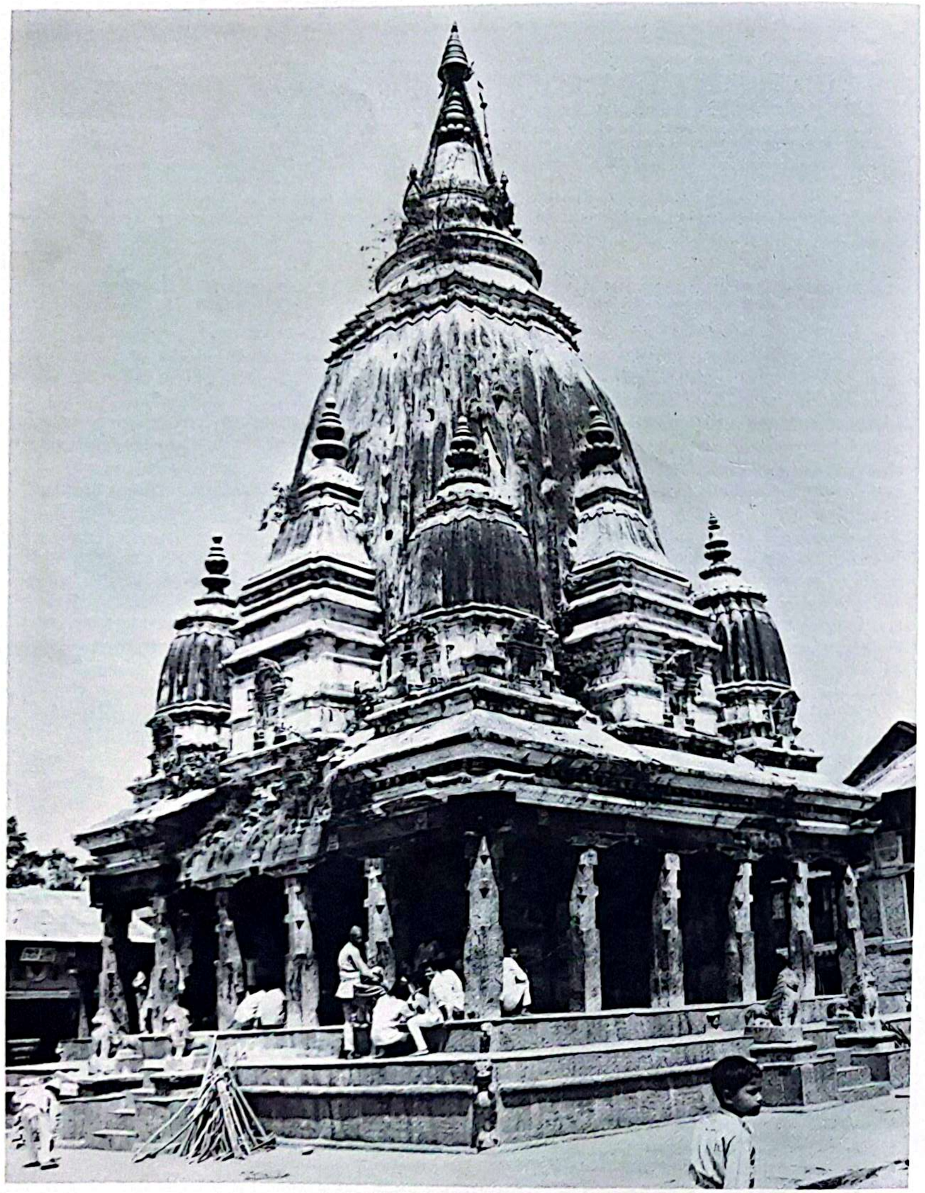
The Ordering of Space in Time

In order to describe Newar temples, shrines and house-types, indeed to explain the religions of the Newars and their pantheons, we must first of all devote a few words to indigenous concepts of space and the organisation of space. By space we mean here free, unoccupied space in which something can be introduced.[1] Miss Alice Boner has devoted much thought to the principles underlying Indian artistic and architectural composition, and we will begin by quoting this authority. "A given space or surface", she writes, "may be divided and subdivided indefinitely by straight lines without ever becoming an organic whole. But as soon as a point is placed in the centre of a given space or surface, the amorphous extension becomes transformed into an organized structure. The centre is a point of reference towards which all parts converge, and therefore the whole structure becomes "con-centrated". The existence of the centre creates a hierarchy of values, in which the parts cease to be equivalent and assume different weight and importance. The importance of any part diminishes in direct proportion to its distance from the centre. Between the centre and the outer parts, between the interior and the exterior, the single and the plural, the undimensional and the ubiquitous, there is a polarity that creates tension as well as organic coalescence. The centre is the source and the fountain-head of this organic whole, and the position of all outer parts is determined with reference to the centre".[2]

Newar art and architecture, while they are materially indigenous creations, are undoubtedly rooted in Indian thought; and all Indian theories of the development of the universe do indeed postulate a centre from which emanate all manifestations. This centre is called *bindu*, which is usually translated by "point" or "drop". It is from this centre that the three fundamental dimensions and the six directions of space are thought to emanate. Miss Boner emphasizes that "with the creation of Space, which involves the first stirring of movement in the Unmanifest, proceeds the creation of Time. There is no movement without time, and therefore no space without time, and conversely there is no time without movement or space. They are the three aspects of the one process that operates the unfolding of all manifestation, subtle and gross, while the immanent, immovable centre, beyond space and time, remains complete and perfect in the full potentiality of its Being."[3] The basic structure of space was conceived of as a right-angled cross, the centre of which was fixed in the polar axis joining the zenith and the nadir. In other terms the world was conceived of as a sphere "with three rectangular diameters directed towards the six cardinal points",[4] and the vertical diameter dominating and holding together the other two.

It is important to grasp these ideas at the outset because, among the Newars as in many traditional societies, to build a house or to construct a sanctuary was, and in some cases still is, to recreate symbolically the shape of the universe[5]. Knowledge of these ideas help us to understand why a piece of ground is circumscribed and consecrated so as to maintain contact with the transcendent principle in its centre, and why this centre is emphasized by different architectural techniques such as a dome, a spire, a pointed roof, etc.[6]

All Indian art and architecture, and therefore all urban Newar art and architecture, evolve from the Vedic fire-altar. The fire-altar represented man and his world. Image of the world, and of the sacrificer (it was built to his size), the altar was composed of 10800 bricks which represent the number of hours (each of which counted for 48 of our minutes) in the religious year. Its art was not figurative;



47. *Temple of Rāto Matsyendranāth (or Karunāmāyā) at Bungamati, where the divinity resides six months in the year. 16th cent.*

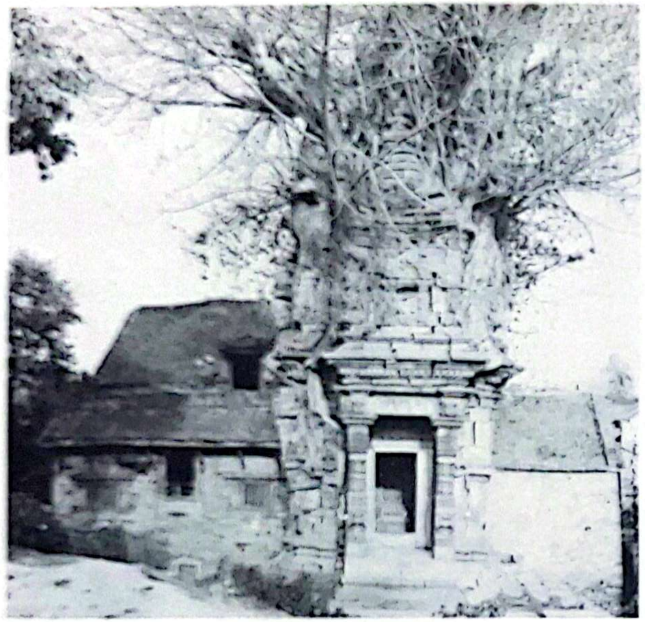
it was geometrical, numerical, symbolical and ritual. The altar was built "facing in all directions" and as such anticipated the lay-out of the iconography of later, more recent ages. At its circumference were 360 bricks, equivalent to the 360° of the sacrificial horizon. They were the cosmic circle; and the bricks within the altar constituted a replica of the universe. In the centre of the altar was Agni; and when the sacrificial flames mounted, man, the small *puruṣa,* whose magical token was inserted in the structure, was identified with the *Mahāpuruṣa,* the great cosmic male, whose initial sacrifice formed the world. By each sacrifice made at this altar, the integration of the individual into the cosmic totality was accomplished.

The Hindu temple, which we meet with among the Newars of Nepal, is a structural descendent **7, 8**
of the Vedic fire-altar. It too embodies the universe. Its centre houses the supreme Principle. Its
height and its width give form to stages and hierarchies of manifestation. It is built around a central
axis conceived of as a pillar or, more frequently, as a mountain, the Meru. The Hindu temple has as
its centre the *garbha gṛha,* the house of the seed. It is here that is situated the image or the symbol
of the principal divinity of the structure. Directly above the *garbha gṛha* is the *amṛta kalaśa,* the
vessel of immortality. The *śikhara,* on which it is placed, represents the ascent from earthly existence **20, 48**
to the spiritual plane. The iconography on the surrounding walls derives directly from the presence **49**
of the central divinity.

The Buddhist *stūpa* too, and there are many *stūpas* which have been erected by Newars in the **6**
Kathmandu Valley, derives from the fire-altar. It too represents the universe. Its base, square or round, represents the earth, as did the altar. The dome of the *stūpa* is the vault of heaven. The relic, embedded in the body of the *stūpa,* is its life, just as Agni was the life of the altar. The *stūpa* is also the symbolical body of the Buddha. Just as the bricks on the circumference of the fire-altar faced "in all directions", so too does the rich iconography on the surround of the *stūpa* represent the round which men must follow on the path to liberation. The bricks on the fire-altar have been replaced by images; but the fundamental structure of the two types of building remains the same, for the bricks were the non-figurative 'faces' of Agni. The 10800 bricks of which the altar was composed were moreover considered as identical to the 10800 stances of the *Veda,* sum of the moral and intellectual knowledge of the Aryan invaders at the time of their penetration of north-west India. The *stūpa* also is a physical representation of the complete teachings of the Buddha. It is a text in stone, a solid scenario for the faithful in their worship. And the great Bodhisattvas which figure at the cardinal points of the *stūpa's* circumference are turned towards all living beings, whether the latter are conscious of this or not.[7]

Unlike our western churches and cathedrals, the Hindu temple is not built to bring the faithful together within it. Nor is the centre of the Buddhist *stūpa* accessible to the faithful directly. The central axis of the monument and of the Buddhist's world is immobile. By moving round this centre towards the right in a ritual circumambulation, the *pradakṣinā,* the faithful impart a certain movement to the centre by their animation. The deity manifests itself outwards, from the centre, towards them. Thus is installed a kind of two-way movement from the circumference towards the centre and from the centre towards the circumference. Paul Mus aptly remarked in this context that "the progression which diffuses the world from the centre of the symbolical edifice towards men, on this earth, is inversed to resorb them in this centre at their own limit. Buddhism - and above all early Buddhism-speaks, it is true, of liberation rather than identification, but the itinerary is the same. The same topology has been retained and, in sum, the same revolution since the liberation (*mokṣa, nirvāṇa*), which constitutes the inexpressible nature of the Buddha, is the substitute of the cosmic *ātman*".[8]

Let us now turn to consider some other types of Hindu and Buddhist artistic manifestations. In an outstanding study published over fifty years ago, Heinrich Zimmer showed, most convincingly, that in Indian art the outer, external, visible world is treated as *māyā,* illusion.[9] The elements of what we call Nature are used by this art to portray a vision of the universe which is essentially metaphysical. However, if the different forms and types of Indian art are so many symbols of a divine presence, they do nonetheless differ from each other in their degree of abstraction. The *yantra,* for instance, is a linear diagram, formed by intersecting geometrical figures, usually triangles, which enclose a central *bindu.* In such *yantra* the triangles are two-dimensional but the *bindu* represents the Supreme



48. Śikhara-type temple at Bhaktapur. The transformation of art in nature.

49. Temple of Vatsala Devi on Durbar Square, Bhaktapur. Late 17th century.

Principle, and is the point through which the polar axis passes. Striving in meditation towards the centr of the *yantra*, one ascends towards the divinity which, in the last analysis, is to be found in one's own heart. Sometimes the limits of the earth will be represented in a *yantra* by a square figure which encloses the whole and protects access to its centre. The *mandala* too, about which Prof. Tucci has written with such penetrative understanding,[10] is a geometrical representation of the universe. But the degree of abstraction is less in the *mandala* than in the *yantra* for the former often comprise human representations and other figural symbols within the circle or the square delimiting the universe that they portray. The *pratima*, which can be translated by such varied western terms as figure, image, picture or likeness is less abstract still: for it is a figural composition in a geometrical pattern. Zimmer clearly realised that the functions of the *yantra*, the *mandala* and the *pratima* are identical. They are used to fix the mind of the devotee, to turn his attention away from the distracting spectacle of the external world so as to enable him to concentrate on the significance of the divine message with which they are charged. In brief, all three are supports of meditation. Zimmer did not consider their equivalence as inherent in their form. However Miss Boner has argued compellingly that certain *pratima* are based on an underlying concentric organization identical in form to that of the other two types of composition. She affirms that "the circle is always the fundamental determining factor. Between the centre and the circumference of the circle there is the indissoluble connection of polarity, from which nothing can escape. The movements thrown out from the centre are collected by the circumference and reversed towards the centre, or an unending movement may arise and flow round the circumference held together by the centre". [11]

Greater Indian art and architecture - and Newar culture is part of Greater India - were shaped on the basis of such Indian symbolical models. The work was carried out at the command of kings or wealthy or pious donors. Those who caused the work to be executed often marked it with their names whereas the artisans who executed it remained anonymous. The powerful and the pious perceived clearly that symbolism can be used to form and to fix the minds of men. Greater India 43 did not become Indian spontaneously. It was made so by the collaboration of local rulers and local artisans who executed, in their local context, works derived from Indian models. However, if Indian order was imposed in this manner, this was only one aspect of Hinduisation. Society itself was shaped in a like manner by the Brahmins in conjunction with the local rulers. The principle social and political activity of the Brahmins consisted in imposing a standard pattern of sacrifice on the plethora of local forms of sacrifice, and in standardising this pattern throughout the territories under the control of their sovereigns. This process, which can be said to have begun in North-West India at the end of the Vedic period, is still continuing today in Nepal which is, with all that the phrase implies, a Hindu kingdom. [12] To sacrifice is to establish a bridgehead in the non-Hindu world; the sacrifice establishes a Hindu centre and organises the world in time and space around it. Those who collaborate in the sacrifice, who participate in it, are brought into the Hindu political and social hierarchy as participant members of the Hindu community, with rights, duties and functions corresponding to their status. Newar society is not an egalitarian society in the sense that all its members have equal rights and duties. In this context we would recall that in that famous blue-print of Indian society in the process of development, the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, society came into being through the sacrificial dismemberment of a Cosmic Male, the *Mahā-puruṣa*. This hymn contains a remarkable political strophe which describes the dismemberment in these terms:

His mouth was the Brahman
The warriors formed his arms
His thighs were the economic class
The servile class was born from his feet.[13]

In one of his many brilliant commentaries on this celebrated text, Paul Mus wrote that "the functional power of the sacrifice will project into the world the organic order and the functional liaisons inseparable from the phenomena of life and the breaths or powers in man. The direct effect on the outer world of this system of images is doubtless illusory; but this is not so with regard to its psycho-sociological action which has contributed, perhaps more than any other factor, to the formation of a society whose model it established, made divine and imposed." [14]

Caste circumscribes, within its limits, a hierarchy of Newar social groups.[15] These groups are differentiated and united in public ceremonies. Within the Newar social body, such groups, at the

तिरकिट

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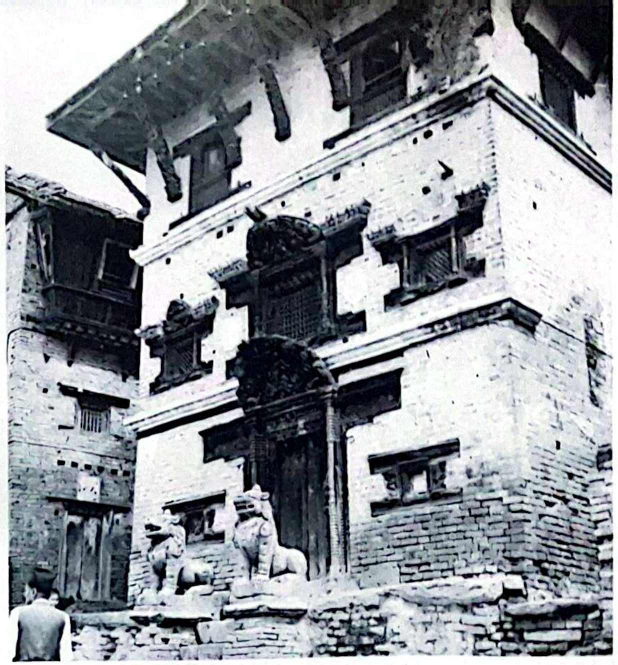
household level, are composed of joint families. In Newar culture, the joint family is a living reality. Dr. A. M. Shah has recently argued forcibly that the stronghold of the joint family in India was not so much the village as the town. [16] In a society such as that of the Newars, which is essentially urban, we must therefore pay particular attention to the structure of the joint family. Professor Srinivas has defined the joint family as "a coparcenary in which each agnatic member acquires a share at birth and the right to sue for partition of the ancestral estate as soon as he reaches the legal age of majority. The joint family is also a co-residential and a commensal group, and its living members periodically propitiate a body of *manes*. Each such family has a head manager (*karta*) who is usually the senior male, and his rights and powers receive much attention in Hindu Law". [17] The co-habitation in one household of three generations of agnatically related males and their wives would constitute an ideal model rather than a frequent social reality among the Newars. But the sociological implications of the joint-family model should be stressed. The head of such a family is not only the physical but also the ritual head of the household. His actions as head of the family engage and englobe the interests of the other members of the family who are, so to speak, his co-subjects. As a member of a joint-family, an individual may make a fortune or become a pauper: but his family status will be determined quite independently of this by the ritual management of the family. [18] In the West, we are used to subscribe to theories of the Social Contract type, where the individual is the basic unit and the group the secondary unit, formed by the union of separate individualities. This is quite the contrary of the Newar case where individualities derive from appartenance to a group or a family. Moreover the ritual centre of the joint-family tends towards immobility. At the death of the family-head, the eldest surviving son does not inherit from his father so much as he inherits him. He becomes his father. [19] In our opinion these implications help to explain why the Newar dwelling-house tends to grow upwards on a fixed site rather than be fragmented in lateral extensions.

Thus far we have sought to emphasize that the erection of an image, the construction of a dwelling-house or a sanctuary in a free space on a disordered scene is an enterprise comparable to the establishment of a sacrificial centre in a similar context. Both types of activity constitute centres of worship and the social and political effects of this worship radiate out into the surrounding countryside. The effects bear sociological and religious fruits in the long run because the same types of sanctuaries and statues, etc, and the same pattern of sacrifice are constructed, re-constructed and repeated over long periods of time. One building, one statue and one sacrifice do not make a country Hindu: it is their multiplication, their accumulation and their similitude. While we cannot follow up the historical proofs which lie behind this hypothesis, there is one further aspect of Indianisation which we must take into account in our summary and that is the function of Newar towns. For these too were centres of diffusion of certain manifestations of Indian order.

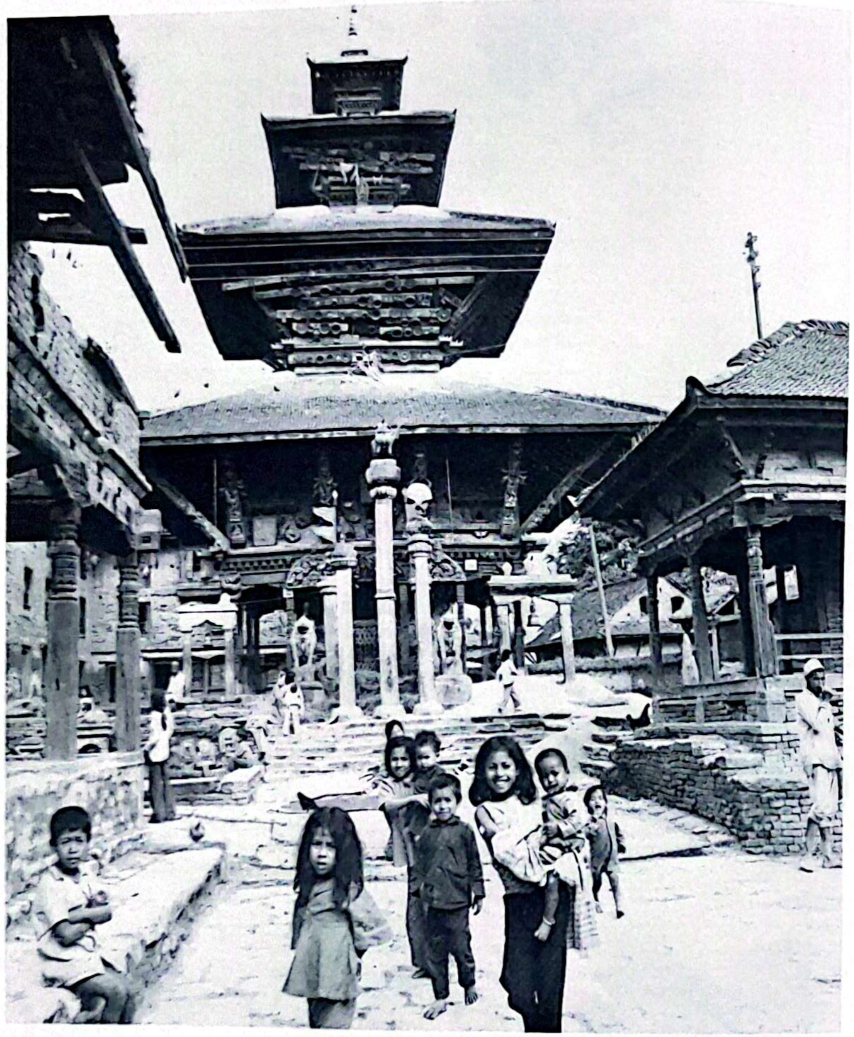
Art is an urban phenomenon in the Nepal Valley. It is in and close to the towns that we find today its most remarkable manifestations: and this is perhaps not an accident but the consequence of the roles which these towns have played in history. While legends abound with regard to the foundation of individual towns, we shall not attempt to synthesize these legends at this point. Such a synthesis would lead us far from historical, sociological reality. Instead we will allow ourselves to speculate on the conditions in which these towns were founded and evolved. While we feel that, in Paul Wheatley's phrase, these towns can be considered, throughout long periods of their existence, as "ceremonial centres", [20] the content of this phrase, in this context, requires to be elucidated.

The first point to be made is that Bhaktapur, Kathmandu and Patan, as well as Kirtipur, Sankhu and other centres, are certainly local creations inasmuch as they were built by local people. Newars doubtless collaborated with Tamangs, Magars and other nearby populations to obtain the raw materials, notably the timber necessary for their construction. There does not seem to be any serious reason for supposing that, materially speaking, these towns were not autochtonous creations. They were founded, and they evolved in a general context of deforestation. The larger human agglomerations in the Valley probably began as associations of smaller settlements in forest clearings. Such groupings were brought about by the need to collaborate in the organization and the regulation of the flow of water for irrigation purposes and the need to ensure protection from outside attacks, whether these attacks came from the forest, from rival clearings or from further afield. To extract



50. *Temple of Salan Gaṇeśa at Bhaktapur.*

51. Śikhara-*type temple (New.* "lohan dega"*) of Bhagavatī at Bhaktapur. Built at end of 17th century.*



52 *Temple of Bhagavatī at Nala. Constructed in 1646.*

the maximum benefit from wet-rice fields in a valley floor, one must live alongside the crops. In this way one gets to work faster, the distances to be covered before the crop is processed are less, and one can survey the fields day and night, if need be, against animal and human intruders. Newar towns even today are practically in the fields and much processing of crops takes place within the towns' limits. The forests were and are not only sources of timber but also of game and such precious commodities as musk, deer-horns, elephants-tusks; medicinal herbs, condiments, precious woods were obtained from them and it was in and beyond them that lay the pasture-lands for grazing flocks and herds.

In the early settlements in which the population struggled to live in harmony with each other and with the forces of nature while striving to harness, for its own benefit, the movement and the alternance of the monsoons, it needed a power not only to protect, but also to regulate work and worship, to arbitrate ethnic and social conflicts and the struggle for land. Kings furnished such power. With the adoption of writing and the growth of a body of scribes, registers and records could be kept of crops and barter transactions; and the regular taxation of trade became possible. Links of dependency were forged and maintained between those who lived in the larger centres under the protection of the local palace and those who lived beyond the limits of the valley, in the forests, the hills and the mountains. Gradually these centres also became centres of re-distribution of crop surpluses. Whether the forces (ideas) which shaped the large Newar agglomerations which subsist today were borrowed freely from outside or were imposed by local or foreign conquerors, in imitation of Indian potentates' life-styles, remains an open question. Certainly the general plan of these towns, and the style of the main temples and public buildings bear clear traces of Indian influence.

Was it then religion which provoked the initial urban mutation in the valley? To this question only a very guarded reply can be given. From an early date, the gods of the rulers were Indian gods. Priests came from India in early times out of interest and proselytising zeal in order to second kings in their enterprises and in order to further the worship of their gods. But the suggestion which is sometimes put forward that the earliest urban agglomerations were cult-centres where a priestly class was permitted, in exchange for the services it rendered, to receive its subsistance without contributing to agricultural production, seems difficult to substantiate. [22] It derives from the view that the religion of the Valley is a synthesis of Hinduism, Buddhism and animism, a synthesis operated by the Brahmins in the service of their sovereigns. Our own view is that such a synthesis has never taken place. We are confronted rather by an organised co-existence of separate systems of belief, a royal administration of ancestral, local and "Indian" cults. [23] If the towns of the valley have been very important centres in the reception and the diffusion of artistic and architectural ideas of Indian inspiration, this has been because it was within their limits that the caste system was inaugurated, planned and policed before being diffused outwards into the hinterlands and because it was within them that took place the technological advances and the social differentiation which permitted public works on a large scale to be undertaken by kings for reasons of piety and prestige and in order to contest with each other.

The third important happening in the towns, and its effect was capital, was the establishment of the annual calendar of public celebrations and holy days. It was in the royal enclaves that the days to be set aside for festivals were determined and it was from them that this information was relayed outwards to the population within the kingdoms' limits. Kings and their councillors clearly foresaw that while it is useful to be able to call on divine help at regular intervals and, in the case of some plague or other catastrophe, at sudden notice, it is embarrassing for all concerned if the divinity is constantly present among men. Most festivals were therefore situated in the agricultural off-season, for at other times the population must be left to get on with their work in the fields and maintain their role as producers in the state's economy. One very important consequence of these calendars was to phase the movements of the hill-peoples in and out of the valley on the occasion of the major festivals, and to regulate their visits to the major shrines and holy places of the kingdoms of the valley.

In brief, we would point to the fact that there is a remarkable similarity between the consequences of the installation of a royal centre of power, the establishment of a sacrificial centre and the centring of a work of art within a circumscribed field. After all, this is not so surprising as it may appear at first sight; for there is no reason why Indian symbolical models should not have been applied in political as well as in artistic and religious contexts, and that the results of such applications be similar.

Notes

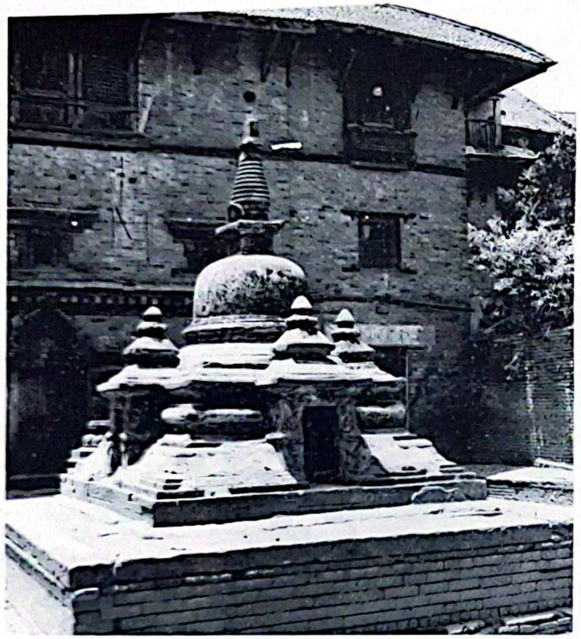
1. See, for instance, the definition of *ākāśa* in H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschaung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte,* Gottingen, Bandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1919, p. 38.
2. *Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture,* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1962, p. 18.
3. *op. cit.*, p. 20.
4. *ibid.*, p. 21.
5. Mircea Eliade has devoted the 10th chapter of his *Traite d'Histoire des Religions,* Paris, Payot, 1970, to this theme.
6. Sometimes a human collectivity is abstracted in like manner from the society surrounding it. See 'Notes on the Cloistering of Villages in South-East Asia', in *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia,* Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975, p. 81-101.
7. For a detailed analysis of the derivation of the Hindu temple and the Buddhist *stūpa* from the Vedic fire-altar, see P. Mus, *Barabuḍur, Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhisme fondee sur la critique archéologique des textes,* Hanoi, Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1935, p. *9 – *302. It is most regrettable that this fundamental piece of research-work has not yet been translated into English.
8. *Annuaire du Collège de France,* 1962, Cours de Paul Mus: Un cinema solide. La notion du Temps dans l'art de l'Inde, p. 316.
9. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im Indischen Kultbild,* Berlin, Frankfurter-Verlag, 1926.
10. G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala,* translated from the Italian by A. H. Brodrick, London, Rider and Company, 1961.
11. A. Boner, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
12. A Nepalese anthropologist has written of the Brahmins, who are the most widely distributed caste group in Nepal, that "they have always tried to impose their allegedly superior cultural and religious practices on whichever ethnic group they happened to live in proximity with . . . " (Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal,* Calcutta, Shree Saraswaty Press Ltd., 1967, p. 3).
13. The most recent translation of this passage we have seen is that by Wendy O'Flaherty in *Hindu Myths, A Source Book translated from the Sanskrit,* Harmdsworth, Penguin Books, 1975, p. 27-28. The best analysis of the hymn is that of Paul Mus, 'Du nouveau sur Rgveda 10, 90? Sociologie d'une Grammaire', in *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown,* New Haven, American Oriental Series vol. 47, p. 165-185.
14. *Annuaire du College de France,* 1961, Cours de Paul Mus: La première constitution hindous, Rg Veda X, 90, p. 277.
15. The most recent and, in our opinion, the best table of the Newar hierarchy is the "Newar Status System from the Rājopadhya Point of View" which owes much to the collaboration of Robert Levy and which is to be found in Niels Gutschow and Bernhard Kölver, *Ordered Space, Concepts and Functions in a town of Nepal,* Wiesbaden, Kommissions-verlag Franz Steiner, p. 56-58. We fully endorse the viewpoint of these authors when they write (p. 58): "It seems that every town in the valley has peculiarities of its own, and each system will have to be described separately before a typology valid for all Newars can be established".
16. A. M. Shah, *The household dimension of the family in India,* University of California Press, London, 1974, p. 100, 163.
17. M. N. Srinivas, in A. M. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. X.
18. In the fifth reprint of his *Hindu Social Organisation,* Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1961, P. H. Prabhu writes as follows: "Life in the world for a Hindu is a sojourn. The individual does not belong to the home, nor does the home belong to the individual. He comes from elsewhere, belongs to elsewhere, where he shall have to go. The individual has to perform his due *dharmas* and *karmas* here, without manifesting any sign of ownership. All the home property belongs, in the social meaning, to the individual's forefathers and his progeny, not to the individual himself. In this sense we may say that the home is supposed to belong to the perpetual Agni in the home, the symbol of the continuity of the family" (p. 216). Any anthropologist who has worked in a Hindu area has got involved, sooner or later in this type of dialogue: "To whom does that cow belong?" - "It's mine" - "But surely it's your father's?" - "No, it's mine".
19. *Annuaire du College de France,* 1949, Cours de Paul Mus: La notion de maintenance collective dans les traditions et institutions anciennes de l'Inde, p. 172-174.
20. Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters,* Edinburgh, The University Press, 1971, particularly chapter 3, p. 225.
21. We know that the smaller settlements were called *grāma,* and that a combination of several villages was known as a *tala.* Bigger *grāma* and *tala* were designated, by royal charter, as *dranga.* It is this latter word which seems to have signified a "town". See Dhanvajra Vajracarya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh,* Kathmandu, Nepal ra Esiyali Adhyayan Samsthan, Tribhuvan Viśvavidyālaya, B.S.2030, p. 227-228. Perhaps there is a connection between the Newari word *dranga* and tib. *grong/grong-khyer.*
22. It is in our opinion highly significant that the elder (thakali) in a Newar lineage is the leader (*nayako*) in cult practices not so much because of initiations he has received but because of his age and social prestige: he is the continuator of the ancestors and it is this which fits him to conduct the worship of the gods of his ancestors. Again, there is no royal or governmental interference in *jhākri* practices which involve also Newars: see recently on this subject Casper J. Miller, S. J., *Jhankris and Jātrās, An Investigation of traditional healers in Dolakha District,* thesis to be printed at Kathmandu, by Tribhuvan University Press, in 1978. And *jhākris* do not come into conflict openly or often with officiating Brahmin priests. One gets the impression that the tolerance of one another's creeds and cults is so deep-rooted in Nepalese behaviour that it must have been established long ago in the people's history. Hinduism is certainly today the "purest" religion because it is associated with royal power and with Government; but if it is at the top of the hierarchy of religions, this does not mean that it profits from this position to persecute those who hold other beliefs. The problem of defining the religion of Nepal, as opposed to the religions of Nepal, is much too complex to be tackled in a brief note.
23. While there is a copious anti-brahmanical literature in Sanskrit as well as in Western sources the reader should not imagine that the typical Newar brahmin is a rich priest who profits from his sacred knowledge and ritual competence to exploit the faithful. In reality many Newar brahmins are poor farmers (particularly since the recent measures of Agrarian Reform); and, while they are entitled to act as family priests, many of them do not do so.

Buddhist Architecture

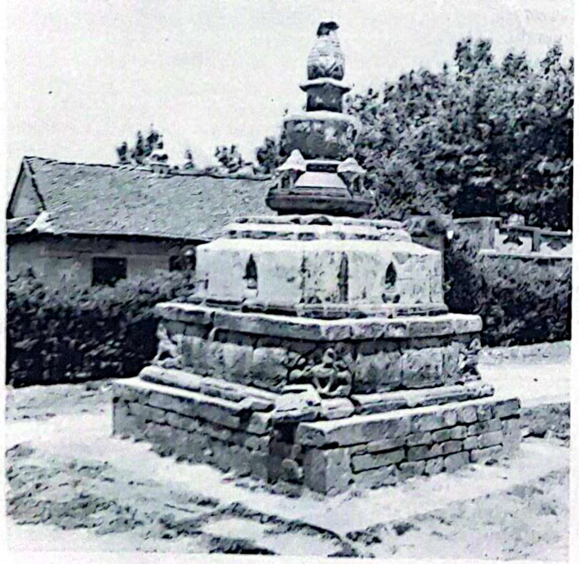
Nepal has suffered heavily from earth tremors in 1833 and recently in 1934, when it is estimated that 3,400 people died. 70% of the houses of Bhaktapur were wrecked by in 1934 earth-quake. One of the reasons why temple and palace structures did, on occasion, survive such tremors is that they were more solidly built than private houses. Another is that temples were often constructed on relatively high ground, above the level of the valley-floor. While many instances of hill-top temples could be cited (Svayambhū, Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ, etc), this is by no means a general rule. While relative height was often a factor taken into consideration in the choice of a site (in many villages with Lamaist populations outside the valley the Buddhist temple will be found situated above the other houses) many temples are to be found in groves of trees, previously held sacred, and close to running water. This is not simply due to a need for easily accessible fire-wood or water for purificatory purposes. It is known that in former times many pilgrimage routes followed river-courses (as in some cases they still do). The construction of shrines, temples and burning-grounds for the disposal of the dead on river-sides has been frequent. We should also draw attention to the existence of cave-temples. Natural caves are still visited at specific dates by pilgrims. More than one contains a narrow entrance between rock-walls through which the faithful must twist to view the gods which are identified in the natural rock-formations of the grotto's walls. But there are also cave temples to which access is easier. Such are the shrine of the Mai at Sundarijal, that of Visankhu Nārāyaṇ near Thaibo, that of Gorakhnāth at Pharping.

Whether in the country or in a town, social as well as geographical factors have played a part in the physical choice of the sites where religious edifices were constructed. A fixed shrine or a temple is not, in Nepal, a building comparable to a Western church as it is not isolated in the same formal manner from the everyday life of the people. Moreover the present-day surroundings of a Nepalese temple may be quite different from those in which it was originally erected. Temples and shrines are to be found on busy as well as quiet streets, in the middle of bazaars and market-areas as well as in private gardens. Schools may be held in temple and monastery precincts. Trade and barter may occur in their annexes. People dry their laundry and sleep beneath the temple eaves. At night-time or in cold weather, fires can be lit on the temple porch. People will rest and chat there, dry their grain nearby in the sun, and may even store it for some time in temple out-houses. They will tie their live-stock to the temple pillars, hang their vegetables up to dry on its rafters, as well as paying their devotions at the shrine itself in all humility. A postman on his rounds will often sit and smoke in the shade of the temple-roof before distributing mail. In brief, a temple is a very useful part of public, social, everyday life as well as being the dwelling-place of a god.

Before passing on to describe Hindu and Buddhist religions edifices in greater detail, we shall devote a few words to describe the so-called monasteries which Buddhists in the past have erected in the valley. Hsüan-tsang, the famous seventh century Chinese pilgrim to India, never visited Nepal; but he noted that in his time there were there "about 2,000 ecclesiastics who study both the Great and Little Vehicle",[1] followers, that is, of the *Mahāyāna* and the *Hīnayāna.* We do not know and we never will know what was the total population of the valley at the period in question. It was certainly very much smaller than it was in 1768; and we may be sure that parts of the valley were much more densely wooded than in recent times. It is to be assumed, however, that whatever their true number, which seems quite high in Hsüan-tsang's estimate, many such "ecclesiastics" were celibate monks.



53. *Vajra-dhātu* caitya *at Dau bāhā, Patan.*

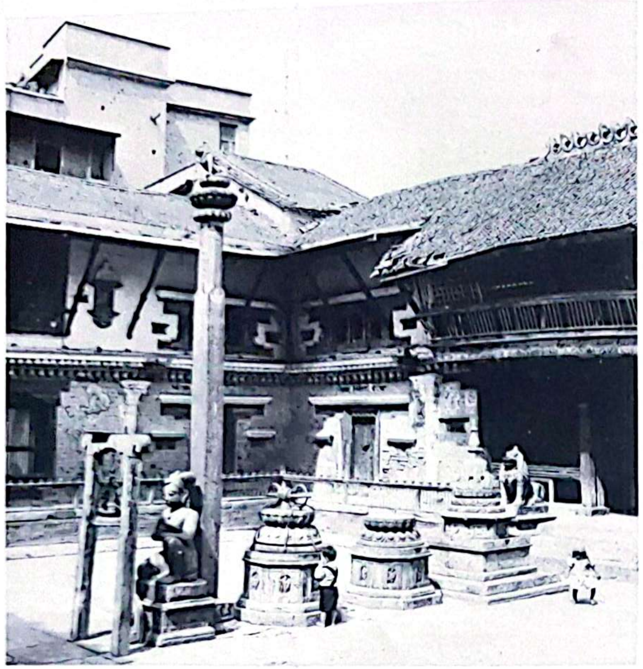


54. Caitya *between Banepa and Caṇḍeśvrī.*

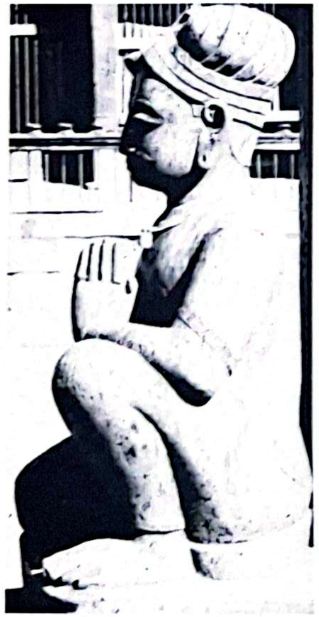
They must have frequented the basically Newar *vihāras,* which today, when not in ruins, are inhabited by Newar families. The remains of over two hundred such *vihāras* are still to be found in the Valley. *Vihāra* is the Sanskrit word for a monastery complex.[2] The historical change in the purpose of such buildings in Nepal from that of monastic cloisters for celibate monks to residential complexes for families cannot be traced with certainty. According to oral tradition, the first six *vihāras* in Nepal were I-bāhī (Patan) which consisted of four separate foundations, Pintu-bāhī and Duntu-bāhī, both of which were also at Patan.[3] Duntu-bāhī is said by some to have been founded by Govardhana Misra, the disciple of a Brahmin from Kapilavastu called Sunayaśrī Miśra who went to study in Tibet before returning thence to Nepal. Other legends maintain that it was by the sale of one of six jewels which he had received in gratitude for his teachings before leaving Tibet that Sunayaśrī Miśra, a second century scholar, financed the construction of the first six monasteries of Patan. There is still a statue reputed to be that of Sunayaśrī Miśra which is worshipped once a year at I-bāhī.[4]

Mahāyāna Buddhism, imported to Tibet from India from the seventh century onwards, was probably the main form of Buddhism practised in the Nepalese monasteries in early times. We can be sure that in the past, as today, there were many different levels of practice, knowledge and worship among the Buddhist laymen, priests and scholars. However this may be, we know for certain that Buddhists came from the great Indian universities[5] such as Nalanda to teach at Patan and that scholars from Tibet, over long centuries, came to study and teach there also. Sanskrit had already been introduced to Nepal some centuries before the implantation of Buddhism in Tibet. Many of the early dynasties reigning in the Valley were, as we have seen, worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva; and it is common knowledge that in Nepal Buddhist monasteries were for long constructed next to Hindu shrines and temples. Indeed Buddhist clergy began early on to play the role of priests to the Newar lay population rather than to leave this role entirely in the hands of the Brahmins. The content of the Buddhist doctrine as well as Buddhist ritual practices were greatly modified over the centuries. There were still celibate communities of monks in Patan in the seventeenth century but already by the twelfth century the number of celibate monks seems to have begun to decline. Contacts with Tibet must have brought Newar monks into association with Tibetan clergy, such as members of the Old Sect and the Ras-pa, who did not always lead celibate lives. The Newar married clergy in time grew to outnumber the celibates and ultimately constituted themselves in an endogamous priestly class known in Newari as *Baḍe.* They designated themselves in Sanskrit as Śākyabhikṣu, thereby stressing their character as mendicants of the Śākya "clan" in which the Buddha, known as the sage of the Śākyas - Śākyamuni - had been born in his last earthly existence. Initiation of a young male member of the Buddhist community still takes place in the *vihāra* in which his father was initiated. The ceremony is known as *baḍe chuyegu*: the boys' heads are shaved, they take monastic vows, put on monks' dress, and beg symbolically for their food during four days. After this period, the boy's maternal uncle urges him to follow the path of a bodhisattva and to devote his life to helping others to gain enlightenment. The head of the *vihāra* then releases the boy from his vows and the latter returns to the life of a layman.[6] Gubhajus go through another ceremony in which they are initiated as Vajrācārya. Śākyabhikṣus do not conduct ceremonies but Vajrācāryas are empowered to do so. Among the *Baḍe,* skills of the goldsmith and silversmith were presumably acquired after they ceased historically to be celibate monks and took their place in society. We would point out that the presence today of women and children in a *vihāra* does not necessarily prove the absence of celibate monks in the surrounding society for the latter may move away from the monastery to pursue their life-style and devotions elsewhere. There may also have been a time when some monks got married but the monastic quarters continued to be reserved for their celibate colleagues.

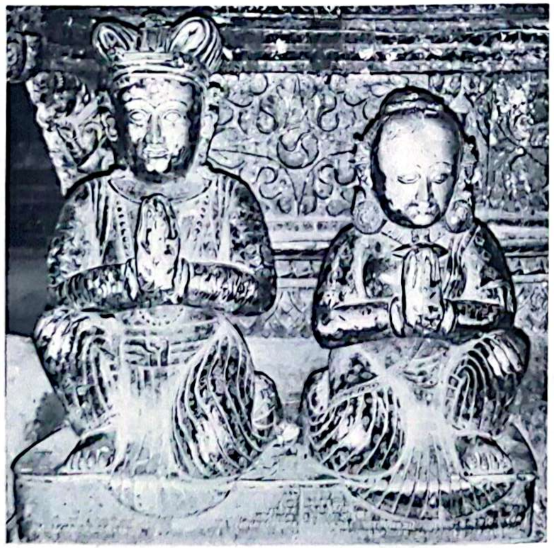
In Nepal two Newari words are used to designate monastic complexes: one, which we have already noted, is *bāhī*; the other is *bāhā.*[7] While it is maintained that the *bāhī* are older than the *bāhā* 55 this claim is difficult to substantiate with historical proofs. Again, it is said that the *bāhī* are linked with the Brahmācārya-bhikṣus, descended from Brahmins who in the past became Buddhists, whereas the *bāhā* are frequented by the Śākyabhikṣu and the Gubhaju. However, to distinguish the Hindu from the Buddhist is sometimes as difficult in Nepal as to separate the Bon-po from the Buddhist in Tibet, where both are *chos-pa,* "religious men". M. B. Joseph considers that, from a structural viewpoint, the *bāhī* only differs from the *bāhā* in two respects. "First, the house of the presiding deity has a narrow passage-way leading round it, so that the shrine may be circumambulated. Second, the housing arrangement around the court has a gallery constructed of wood at the second



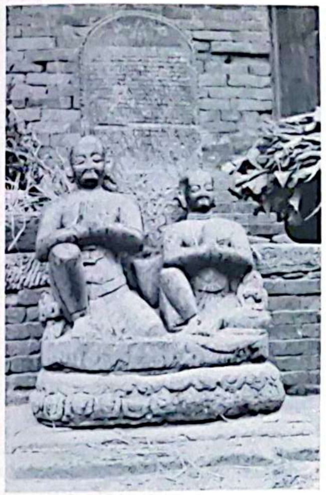
55. *Inner courtyard of Oku Bāhāl, Patan.*



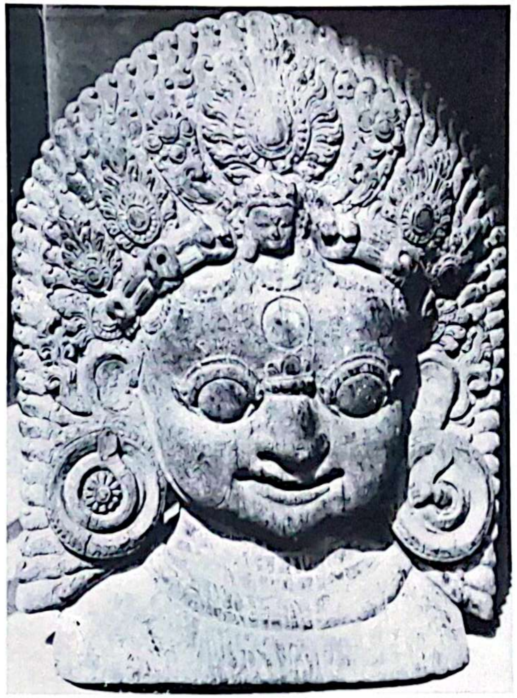
56. *Figure of donor in stone at Oku Bāhāl, Patan. 19th century.*



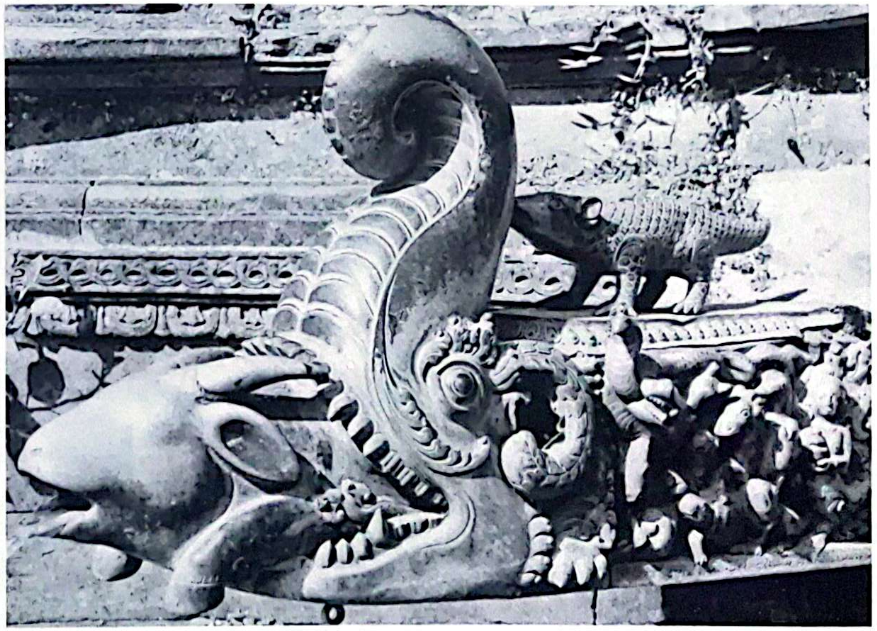
57. *Bronze donors at the Golden Temple (Hiraṇya Māhāvihāra) in Patan. The inscription indicates that these statues were installed by Rajendra Siṃha and his wife in 1804 A.D.*



58. *Donors in stone at Purnacandi, Patan. Dated N.S. 804 (1684 A.D.) Manoharasiṃha and Rām Bhavati.*



59. *Wooden mask of Batuka Bhairava. Collection Tchekov, Paris 16th century. Height: 70 cm.*



60. *Detail of a fountain.*

floor level, while at the first floor the rooms are usually screened by a lattice work of wood."[8] But W. Korn has pointed to further differences in the architectural make-up of the *bāhās* and the *bāhīs* and stressed that "no *bāhā* is to be found outside the limits of the city cores. Many *bāhīs* still today lie outside the city and are enclosed by surrounding residential houses."[9] Another theory is that the *bāhī* originally served to lodge celibate Hinayanists whereas the *bāhā* housed Vajrayāna communities. It certainly seems probable that at one time in the past all the members of a Buddhist community, a *saṃgha*, lived together in one *bāhā*. When the community and the families who composed it grew in numbers, there was no longer space in the *bāhā* to lodge everyone so the joint-families either moved out of the *bāhā* together or split up. In Kathmandu there are said to have been eighteen principal *bāhās* and the same number in Patan. In the course of time, branches opened out from the original *bāhās* and when these branch-foundations were consecrated in due course they were known as *sakha* - i.e. "true"-*bāhās*. The inmates of such branch-foundations remained members of the original *saṃghas*. Branch-foundations which were not consecrated in due order were known as *kaccha* - i.e. "makeshift" *bāhās*. All Vajrācāryas of Kathmandu belong to the Ācārya Guthi: its leaders meet once a year on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Cait. The main shrine of the Guthi is in the cave-like *Āgama-chē*, nowadays called Śāntipur, below Svayambhunāth. According to oral tradition, Śantikar Ācārya, the first man in the Valley to be initiated as a Vajrācārya, originally named this *Āgama-chē*: Ākāśapur "the city of space".

It seems certain that in Nepal as in Tibet *vihāras* were constructed on the basis of Indian models. Nalanda, which must have contained many tall buildings in view of the number of monks reputed to have lived there in such a limited space, as well as other Indian monastic cities, doubtless served as prototypes for the Nepalese constructions. We would point to the fact that *vihāras*, unlike Newar private houses have few and relatively small windows on their outside walls. The Newars excel in the technique of making wooden windows, both decorative and functional. The designs which are current have been studied by both Gautam Bajra Vajracarya [10] and by W. Korn. The latter shows how windows (*jhyas*) "are pieced together from many prefabricated units of varying shapes and sizes and assembled without the use of either metal fixings or glue. Each window consists of two frames, the inner plain frame (*duchu*) always being larger than the outer richly carved frame (*bha*) and both are held together by wooden ties and wooden nails. The lattice work or jalousie of the windows is not achieved by boring holes into a plank, as generally supposed, but by combining three different battens: the perforated batten, the serrated batten and the key batten. The lattice produced is pressed into the prepared frame and cannot be disassembled without dismantling the entire frame".[1] It was towards the courtyard that the best and biggest *vihāra* windows faced, the courtyard which provided and still provides light, air and ventilation in the *vihāra* as in the domestic complex.

M. B. Joseph has recently described in detail Itum-*bāhā* in Kathmandu and it is useful to follow her description closely. [12] One enters Itum-*bāhā* by a door-way which is surmounted by a *toraṇa* carved in relief and is flanked by two stone lions. This doorway gives access to an ante-chamber. On either side there is a small space with a railing seat. This enclosure is a *phaleccha*, a sort of *dharmasālā*. Pilgrims or passers-by can rest there; and the space is used for musical get-togethers which are still held frequently in the evenings. In the *phaleccha* there are stone sculptures of the protective divinities of the *vihāra*, one of which is always Mahākāla.

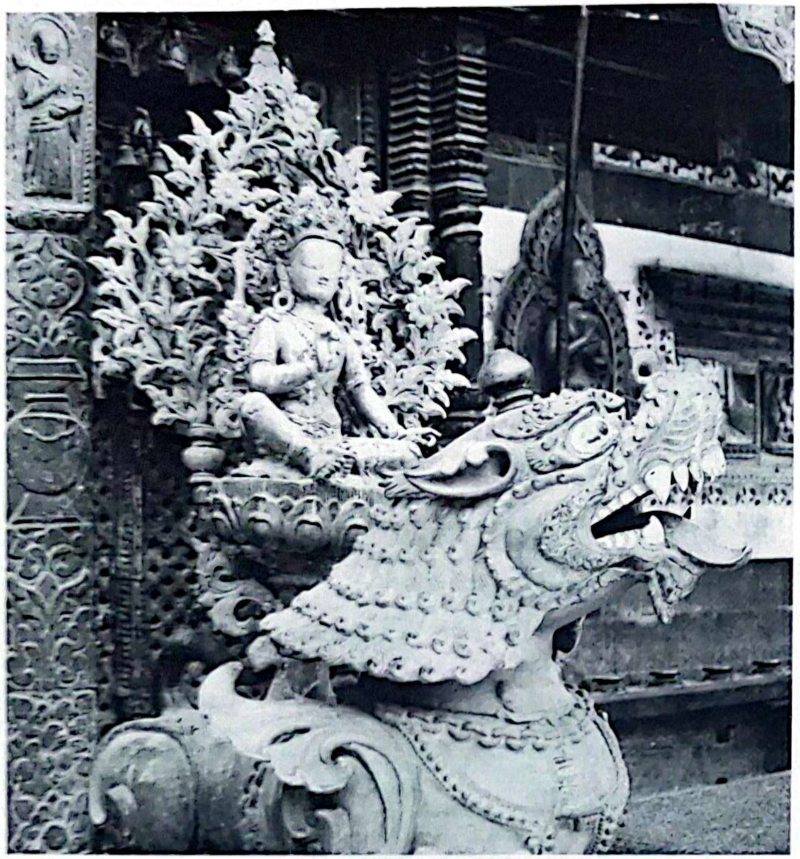
61 The courtyard to which one now comes is flanked on all sides by two-storeyed buildings. It is paved in stone. The shrine which houses the main non-tantric divinity of the *vihāra*, the *kwa-pa dyo*, is situated on the side of the courtyard opposite to the entrance. In many *vihāra*, on an upper floor, often but not always directly above the shrine of the *kwa-pa dyo*, is the *āgama-chē*, the shrine of the tantric Vajrayāna deities of the *saṃgha*. It may be composed of one or two rooms. The divinities in question are often Heruka Cakrasambara with his consort Vajra Vārāhī. It is only the elders and the priest of the community who are allowed to enter the *āgam-chē*. The *kwa-pa dyo*, on the other hand, can be worshipped by any devotee at the morning and evening service or whenever the responsible *pujāri*, the *dyo pāla* who is on service, opens the shrine. The entrance to the dwelling of the *kwa-pa dyo* is surmounted, as was the street-entrance, to the *vihāra*, by a *toraṇa*. Very often this is of wood; the wood is frequently re-painted and portrays, in the case of Itum-*bāhā*, Mañjuśrī mounted on two lions. Here he has three heads, and six arms, and is flanked with two attendants holding yak-tails, his inanimate symbols. Above is a motif which occurs very frequently on the *toraṇas* of Nepal.

It is a *kirttimukha*," a face of glory", but of a type which is peculiar. The face in question is known
in Newari as *chhepa*. The head is that of a monster rather than a human being; but in its two human
arms it holds two serpents. At the bottom corners of the *toraṇa* are two *makara*: in Indian iconography
these are the vehicles of Varuṇa. The *chhepa* itself is topped by a *chattra* -parasol/umbrella -comprising
thirteen discs each of which represents one of the Buddhist levels of existence (*bhūmi*). *Toraṇas* can
be moved, displaced, renewed: like other elements in temple architecture they are a constant prey
to destruction while being constantly reconstructed. They are usually placed above a gate-way, a
door, or, occasionally, a window. The Sanskrit word *toraṇa* designates a festooned archway; and in
Nepal the word still applies to the festoons of flowers that are hung from the four plantain trees in
the corners of the *yajña* - the place where the bride and bridegroom sit - at a marriage ceremony.
Wooden *toraṇas* may originally have been made to give more permanent form to such decorations.
To the best of our knowledge, there has as yet been no study of the historical development of the
motifs to be found on Nepalese *torana*. Buddhist oral tradition maintains that *toraṇa* exemplify the 12
emptiness (*śūnyata*) of the universe: the *makaras* at the base typify the waters which are changed
into clouds by the action of the sun; the *nāgas* represent the vapour in the clouds and are in turn
devoured by the *garuḍa* in the sky. Hindus too hint that *toraṇas* exemplify the auto-destruction of
the universe. Much work remains to be done to determine the apparent interchangeability of the
chhepa, the *garuḍa* and the mask of Ākāś Bhairab in the lay-out of *toraṇa*, whether of Hindu or
Buddhist inspiration.

At the entrance to the shrine of the *kwa-pa-dyo* stand images of figures attendant on the
divinity. These are usually Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the two great disciples of the Buddha. Often
they are depicted as mendicants, carrying begging bowls and staffs. The roof above the shrine at the
Itum-*bāhā* is supported by wooden struts carved to represent Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha,
Amoghasiddhi, Vairocana and Vajrasattva. Inside the shrine, the main image is always lavishly
decorated. It may be that of Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Dīpaṅkara or even Maitreya. During the
festival known as Vanra *Jātrā*, statues of Dīpaṅkara are carried through the streets in processions. 25
These statues have red faces and are crowned. In addition to its cloak of ornament, it is often
protected from intruders by a door in lattice-work, or there may be a metal curtain of loose mesh
network, similar to those illustrated in old books on Tibet, in front of the image. At Itum-bāhā
only the head of the image is visible: it is surmounted by the usual *pañcaśikha*, five-crested, crown,
and below it there extends a sort of apron. It is not of course possible to verify that under the apron
the image has legs. The cella in which this main non-tantric image is situated is usually plain. It is the
image itself, and the outside, not the inside, of its house which is elaborately decorated. This reminds
us that the typical Newar domestic dwelling is adorned on the outside with beautiful woodwork but
its interior too is plain and unornamented. Very often - perhaps the best-known example is a free-standing temple at Kirtipur - domestic utensils donated by the pious will be nailed to the outside of
a shrine on the death of their owner. They are usually nailed to a wide board which is itself fixed
across the struts supporting the roof.

Let us now say a few words more about the courtyard, in which is situated the shrine of the
kwa-pa dyo, and which is surrounded by buildings of dark red mud-bricks. The assembly room for
the monks is generally on the first floor. It is in this room that statues of divinities belonging to the
community will be exhibited at particular festivals. Both the outer and inner roof-slopes, facing the
street and courtyard, are supported by wooden struts, often carved with representations of the
divine pantheon. We have already noted how the five transcendant Buddhas are carved on the struts
of the shrine of the *kwa-pa dyo*. Carved struts (*tuṇāls*) are indeed one of the most striking features 1
of the woodwork both in *vihāras* and in free-standing Hindu temples in Nepal. The identification of
the personages depicted on the struts is not difficult as they are often named in Newari or in Sanskrit 37
on the strut itself. Corner-struts of free-standing temples generally figure *vyālas* - winged animals with 38
horned heads and *garuḍa*-type faces. S. B. Deo has drawn attention to the variety of subjects treated
on the struts:" . . . dancing female figures, scenes associated with a specific incarnation of Viṣṇu like
the Narasiṃha in the story of Prahlāda, Nāga-Nāgis, ascetics, the *vidyādharas* and the *vidyādharīs*,
nakṣatras, donor couples, erotic figures, male and female figures of dwarfs. . human couples, female 24, 58
deities, mother and child, and mythological figures and scenes like Brahmā and Śiva driving
together in a chariot . . . An interesting series from the Matsyendranāth temple at Patan and the
Caturvarṇa Mahāvihāra from Bhatgaon depicts scenes of punishments meted out to the sinners in

CS CamScanner



61. *Divinity guarding entrance to Haka Bāhā at Patan.*

hell".[14] While these remarks are true enough as far as cataloguing the subjects depicted is concerned,
they are not very illuminating if one seeks to understand why the struts in a particular context
represent what they do. Theoretically many of the struts have a functional role in the *maṇḍala* of the
chief divinity of the edifice of which they form parts. The shrine and the temple are not only the
house but also the body of the god. Certainly the personages depicted on all the struts one sees do
not have their place in the *maṇḍala* in question. The original struts may have rotted away and been
replaced by others; those who originally placed the struts in position may have been ill-informed or
may have lacked the means to finish their task correctly. Again, struts may have been donated in a 9
commemorative, decorative or ornamental intention. The personages they depict are often considered
as apotropaic guardians of the building in which they stand. Before examining them, one should
try to obtain access to the *sthalapurāṇa,* the text which describes in myth if not in history the
foundation of the edifice surrounded by such struts and the miracles attendant on the foundation.
Such texts, it must be admitted, are seldom shown to outsiders.

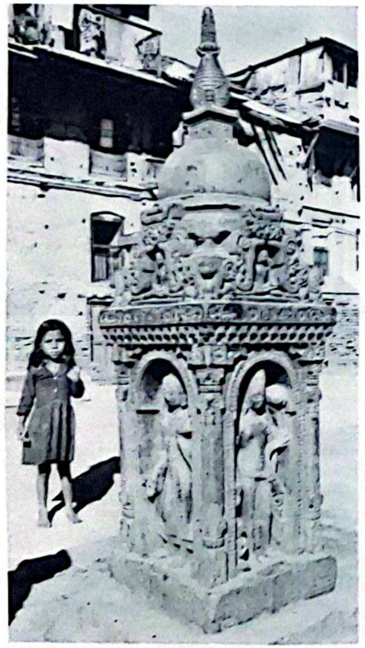
In the courtyard of the *vihāra,* usually close to the doorway of the shrine of the *Kwa-pa dyo,* among the paving stones, there is the *yajña kuṇḍa,* the sacrificial pit. It is a square, box-like container for the sacrificial fire. Its four sides rise slightly above the level of the courtyard; they are inclined towards the centre of the box and are usually decorated with lotus motifs. Close to the *yajña-kuṇḍa* there is a *dharma-dhātu maṇḍala*. Such a *maṇḍala* usually incorporates in its centre Vairocana, surrounded at the cardinal points by Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. Perhaps the best-known example of a *dharma-dhātu maṇḍala* in Nepal is the huge one at the top of the steps leading up to Svayambhunāth from the east. Such *maṇḍala* may be commemorative constructions donated to the *vihāra* by pious members of the *saṃgha.* An important item at the temple entrance is a large bell, rung by worshippers to call the divinity's attention to their presence and their requests.

In the courtyard of a *vihāra* there is always at least one *caitya* and usually there are several. Sometimes
the main *caitya* will be enclosed within a separate shrine. Older *caitya,* attributed to the Licchavi
period, have a hemispherical dome above a three or four tiered square base, with images carved on
the four sides of the base. Morə recent *caitya* have a bell-like shape. Very many *stūpa* were erected in 62,63,64
the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but in general their iconography repeats that of eighth century
Buddhism. In everyday speech no clear distinction is made between the word *stūpa* and the word
caitya. By and large *caitya* and *stūpa* are divided into three categories. Those called *śarīrika* contain 110
mortal remains; those called *patibhogika* contain objects used by or connected with the Buddha or
Bodhisattvas; those called *uddeśika* are commemorative edifices. Very often the *uddeśika* type of
stūpa is designated as a *caitya.* Very few *stūpas,* if any, have been excavated by competent
archeologists although many have been broken into and looted by robbers in search of the treasures 54
they are reputed to contain. Perhaps the oldest extant *stūpas* in the Valley are really those said to
have been erected by the emperor Aśoka at the cardinal points surrounding Patan. Besides such large 53
prestigious examples, hundreds of miniature *caitya* are to be found throughout the valley. They are
usually made of stone and do sometimes have inscriptions inscribed on them dating from the
Licchavi period. Brick-built, seven feet high *stūpas* were recently excavated at Tilaurakot. The
description and the scientific examination of *stūpas* situated between the Terai and the Kathmandu
valley will open the way to a more precise classification of those in the Valley. At the present day a
complex such as Svayambhunāth is a veritable museum of *stūpas* and *caityas.* In this context it should
be noted that in other instances residential courtyards seem to have grown up more or less casually
around a particularly revered *stūpa* although the residents were never monastic inmates. The *stūpa*
itself may in its origins have had no link with the buildings which now surround it.

While Newars undoubtedly do not hold crowds in horror, they worship individually or in
couples. Worshippers are sometimes represented in statues. These may be only a few inches in height 57
or life-size; for instance two half-life size statues face the main shrine of Kwa-bāhā, the so-called
golden temple of Patan. These *salika,* as they are called, are usually made of bronze alloy but are
sometimes in stone. Generally they depict Malla-style fashions. Malla kings were represented on high
free-standing columns, facing their own palaces and - what is more significant - the shrines of their
own tutelary divinities, the *dyo* in the *Āgama-chē* within these palaces. Raised on columns above the
earth on which their subjects walk, they are further separated from the ground by being enthroned
above a lotus. They are portrayed in an attitude of devotion, at a level lower than the divinity they

62. *Stone* stūpa *at Bhaktapur.*

63. *Bronze miniature* stūpa.
Height: 12 cm. Private collection, Paris.



64. Caitya *of Licchavi period*
in courtyard of Dhvaka bāhā, Kathmandu.

65. *Buddha at Nāga baha in Patan.*

are facing and show thereby their respect. In a private dwelling the *āgama* is situated above the levels of family habitation.

While inscriptions and other documents testify to the foundation of *vihāras* from the fifth century onwards, David Snellgrove is right to argue [15] that few such buildings still in existence can date from before the fourteenth century and that most of them probably assumed their present outline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The presence of old, dated statues, dated that is to say by inscriptions attesting to their donation, is no certain indication of the date of foundation of the edifice which at present houses them. We should also remember that certain monasteries were probably never residential sites except for a staff of guardians and watchmen, and that in Tibet, contrary to popular western belief, there were many monasteries with quarters of married monks. So the Newar married clergy are not so exotic in their behaviour as hasty comparisons with Hīnayāna communities have led some observers to believe. While the correct dates of foundation of Buddhist *vihāras* are often uncertain, the Hindu *maths* are also difficult to date. These were rest-houses for pilgrims but also centres for study; like *vihāras* they too had branch foundations, but despite the persistence of Hinduism in Nepal the *maths* seem today to be of little religious significance. Architecturally they ressemble three-storeyed private houses, with the kitchen on the top floor.[16]

The site for a domestic habitation is delimited ritually prior to its construction. Such a ceremony also occurs under the direction of a priest or a Gubhaju when a *caitya* is to be built, just as a similar ceremony took place in the past when a monastery or a temple was constructed. The purpose of the ritual is not only to separate a space which is to be sanctified from the profane space surrounding it. In the case of a temple or a *vihāra* [17] the land thus set aside is *guṭhi* land, that is to say, in this case, land set aside as a donation to a deity: henceforth this land will be free from property tax. The practice of encircling the boundaries of holy sites - such boundaries in Nepal are known as *sīmā* - is a very ancient one in Indian Asia. It has long formed part of both Hindu and Buddhist rituals. What is within the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* - the path of ritual circumambulation - rises above the common level; and the series of nested, interlocked squares and rectangles which one finds in the *vihāra* is similar in purpose to that of the stepped platforms on which Hindu temples are raised above ground-level so as to accentuate their separation from the ground itself. In the one case, the main divinity of the complex will be found within nested squares; in the other, it will be found in the centre of the topmost step. Its ritual position in the two cases will be similar. Thus, although this may not be apparent to the common western eye, when the worshipper approaches the main non-tantric divinity in the courtyard of a *vihāra*, he is accomplishing an ascension comparable to the physical climb up to some isolated peak-top *pūjā thān* - seat of worship - a climb accomplished by crowds of his countrymen along with their *jhākris* in many an important rustic *jātrā*. Again, just as the *caitya* or the *stūpa* is surmounted by a series of discs fixed like so many superposed umbrellas on the central column directly above the central point of the edifice, so too is the central shrine within a *vihāra* surmounted either by tiers of pagoda-type roofs (Kwa-bāhā) or by three or more finials (Itum-bāhā), and the Hindu temple's *garbha-gṛha* is surmounted either by a lofty sky-reaching *śikhara* spire or a similar series of staged roofs. The parasol shelters, marks off and distinguishes what is below it, just as the tiered roofs do. The centre of a *vihāra* complex may not be in the physical centre of the series of concentric,passable barriers which enclose it (the topography or the exiguity of the site may preclude this); but these barriers have already lifted it above ground-level, for their outer base is not established on the earth itself but on the body of the *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* whose constutuents are the gods within it. As Stella Kramrisch wrote in her masterly work on *The Hindu Temple* [18] : "Every building activity means a renewed conquest of disintegration, and at the same time a restitution of integrity so that the gods once more are the limbs of a single 'being', of Existence, at peace with itself".

Notes

1. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, Manshiram Manoharlal, 1961, II, p. 83-84.
2. Hemraj Śākya, *Nepāl Bauddha Vihāra wa Granthasuci*, Patan, B. S. 2005, lists 120 *vihāra* in Kathmandu and 167 in Patan. He only lists 24 for Bhaktapur which is essentially a Hindu town. Very few of the *vihāra* which are listed in this work are today functioning monastic units.
3. S. Levi, *Le Népal*, vol. II, p. 26, 95, 96.

4. M. B. Joseph, 'The Vihāras of the Kathmandu Valley' in *Oriental Art*, vol. XVII, no. I, summer 1971, p. 121-143. The statue is mentioned on p. 141, note 8.
5. For the development and history of *vihāras* in India, see S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1962 and D. K. Barua, *Vihāras in Ancient India, A Survey of Buddhist Monasteries*, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1969.
6. See the important article by John K. Locke, 'Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites' in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, Kirtipur, 1975, p. 1-23.
7. In Nepali, the words *bahīl* and *bahal* are also used. The word *bahīl* is said to derive from *bahir* meaning "outside" but this seems doubtful. All *vihāra* have a Sanskrit name as well as a Newari name. The Newari name is often a nickname whereas the Sanskrit appellation is more majestic.
8. *loc. cit.*
9. W. Korn, *The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley*, Kathmandu, 1976, p. 36.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 7-10.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
12. See note 4 above.
13. For a general study of Śāriputra, see A. Migot, 'Un grand disciple du Buddha: Śāriputra' in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 46, 1952/54, p. 405–554.
14. S. B. Deo, 'Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork', in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. III, Calcutta, 1968-1969, p. 28, 29. This study contains useful notes on the tools employed by Newar artisans (p. 15-16) and on the terminology applied to different parts of pillars (p. 21-24).
15. D. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himālaya*, Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1957, *passim*.
16. N. Gutschow, The Pujari Math: a Survey of Newar Building Techniques and Restoration Methods in the Valley of Kathmandu, *East and West*, Rome, vo.26, no.1-2, 1976, p.191-205.
17. R. L. Mitra in *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882, p. 103, first summarised in English the contents of a text in Newari characters and of uncertain date which is entitled the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and which gives indications concerning the ritual to be carried out when a *vihāra* is to be constructed. The entire process is said to occupy one year. After following diverse prescriptions for choosing the site, the *ācārya*, "thoroughly versed in the three *samadhis*, should sit in the evening on a square diagram, well-cleansed with cow-dung; he should first worship the Three Jewels (the Buddha, the Dharma, the Samgha) and praise the *dikpālas* (the ten guardians of space) by chanting *gāthās*, and then, with the left knee touching the ground, and the hands folded, ask them for land by uttering certain *gāthās*". He then lights the *kopāgni* - a fire taken from the hearth of the Candala who guard the cremation-grounds. This is followed by "*vastu* worship, worship of the *vihāra-devata*, measurement of the ground with a string, observation of omens, examination of the *vastu* serpent, laying of the foundation stone, division of the *vihāra* into rooms, felling of trees for the *vihāra*, etc". It is stipulated that the room in which the Buddha's image is to be installed "should be painted with representations of the Tathāgatas, Bodhisattvas, Sarasvatī, and Vidyādharas. A pair of eyes and a pair of water-pots are to be painted on every door-frame; on the outer side of the door, the ten figures of the water-pot, the ear, etc; on the top of the windows, Tathāgatas, chosen Bodhisattvas and various decorations. In the interior of the room, just next to the image, the Bodhi tree should be painted, with Varuna and the Lokādhipas (*sic*) on the right and left of the image. Varuṇa should be painted white, with two hands, holding a terrible noose. On the right side of the door should be painted the two fierce images of Mahābala and Mahākāla: Mahābala black with two hands, one face, three red round eyes, with brown hair standing on end, protuberant teeth, and clothed in a tiger-skin, with eight serpents as ornaments, touching his right shoulder with four left fingers, and his left shoulder with those of the right hand". Mahākāla is similar but "made fiercer by a garland of skulls".
18. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1946, vol. I, p. 97.

Śaivite Temples in Bhaktapur

When the traveller who enters Bhaktapur[1] from the West, by the road from Kathmandu, arrives at the first big square, he is surprised to notice that the monuments situated in the centre of the town, in front of the ancient royal palace, are not frequented by the inhabitants. The sole exception to this first impression is constituted by the temple of Taleju. It is this temple which is the site of the divinity who protected the Malla kings and who is also the main divinity of the town.[2] At Taumadhi, the other important square in the town, are to be found two temples: that called 75
Nyātapola and that of Ākāś Bhairav, each being very important in local religious life. All the 66
religious processions which take place in Bhaktapur must pass through Taumadhi and part of the Bisket *Jātrā*, the town's most important festival, takes place in front of the temple of Ākāś Bhairav. When one moves further on towards the *ghāṭ*, the cremation-places which surround the town, one sees many women carrying trays of offerings who are on their way to make their *pūjā* in the open sanctuaries which are known as *pīṭh* in Newari[3] and *pīṭha* in Sanscrit, and which are situated outside the town and close to the *ghāṭ*.

The house-temples of the mātṛkā (mother-goddesses)

Present day religious life in Bhaktapur is dominated on one hand by the cult of the *Aṣṭamātṛkā* and on the other hand by the cult rendered in the *Āgama chẽ*, which is an institution peculiar to the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley.[4] The temples of the *mātṛkā* are "town-quarter temples" for the cult of each *mātṛkā* is linked to a clearly-defined sector of the town, as we shall see later.

Inside the town each of the *mātṛkā* has a temple which is called in Newari *dyo chẽ*, meaning "house of the divinity" and, outside the town, an open sanctuary known as *pīṭh*. The temples of the *mātṛkā* and their *pīṭh* are situated as follows: in the East, Brahmāyaṇī; to the South-East, Māheśvarī; to the South, Kaumārī; to the South-West Vaiṣṇavī alias Bhadrakālī; to the West, Vārāhī; to the North-West, Indrāyaṇī; to the North, Māhākālī; and to the North-East, Mahālakṣmī. In the midst, in the 72
centre of these eight mother-goddesses, is to be found the goddess Tripurasundarī. The place where the temple of Tripurasundarī is situated is considered as the religious centre of the town. The only *pīṭh* situated inside the town is that of Tripurasundarī and is to be found close to her temple.

From the outside, the temples of the *mātṛkā* look like houses. As in all traditional Newar architecture, the materials used in their construction are wood and bricks for the walls and their roofs are tiled. The plan of these "houses of divinities" is rectangular; their roofs, on the facade and in the rear of the buildings, slope down at a steep angle and are sometimes dominated by what is called an *āgama*[5]. The roofs are underslung by carved wooden struts, spaced at intervals, which portray representations of the various mother-goddesses. On the top of each roof is a golden pinnacle (*gajur*): the number of *gajur* is indicative of the relative importance of the divinity (housed below) in the pantheon. As is the case with Newar domestic dwellings, these buildings have two or three storeys. The door is usually situated in the centre of the main facade (this is the case, for instance, in the *dyo chẽ* of Tripurasundarī, of Brahmāyaṇī and of Indrāyaṇī) or on the side wall (the *dyo chẽ* of Mahākālī). From an architectural point of view, there is no difference between a Newar domestic house and a temple of a *mātṛkā*. It is the decoration of the windows and the *toraṇa*, which are generally of wood and are placed above the windows and the doorways, which distinguish the *dyo*

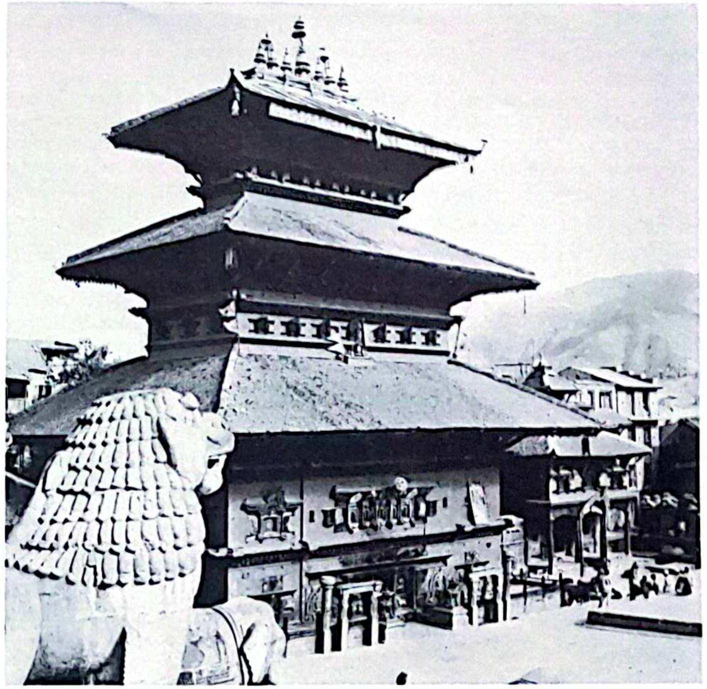
chē from an ordinary, human, dwelling-place. On each *toraṇa,* the *mātṛkā* is portrayed in the form of
80 a standing young woman, with four or eight arms, in company with her vehicle (*vāhana*), the two
principal hands holding a skull-cup, and displaying the *vyākhyā-mudrā* - (exposition). Only Vaiṣṇavī
alias Bhadrakālī and Mahākālī are portrayed as old women. They have, on their right, Gaṇeś, and on
their left, Bhairav. Floral motifs are to be found on the *toraṇa,* and in their centres a bird similar to
the Garuḍa.[6] According to Newar tradition, the bird is said to be Garuḍa's brother and is called in
Newar *Chhepā.* The latter has the beak and the wings of a vulture, but the torso, the arms and the
ears are those of a man.

Other religious buildings which are similar in form to a house are the *Āgama chē.* These are
11 private shrines, temples of a particular lineage (*phukī*) or of a particular religious association
(*guṭhi*). In these *Āgama chē,* the decoration of the windows and the wooden *toraṇas* above the doors are the same as in the *dyo chē.* In Newari, the word *āgama* is compounded with the word *chē,* and the compound signifies an edifice where the protective divinity of a lineage or a religious association is housed. The divinity is called an *Āgam-dyo*: the name is applied to a category of divinities and is not that of a particular god. In a recent publication devoted to a study of the monuments of the Kathmandu Valley, the *Āgama* were defined in the following terms: "Similar to the *dyo chē* but are generally more enclosed. They contain shrines of the Kuldevatās, Iṣṭadevata and Ogamdevdas (family, patron and secret deities). No one is permitted to enter for worship without prior initiation. The enshrined images are never taken out of the building".[7] The initiated are those who have received the *dīkṣā,* the initiation accorded only to high-caste Newars.[8] The statues which are in the *Āgama* should never leave them. However, the statues of the *mātṛkā* are taken out of their *dyo chē* in processions during the annual festival of the Bisket *Jātrā* and all the inhabitants of the town can see them. They are made of bronze and are kept on the upper floor of the *dyo chē,* the temples situated within the town limits. In the lower part of the building on the ground floor, is kept the chariot in which the deity is conveyed during its promenade at the Bisket *Jātrā.* Two of the *mātṛkā* do not have statues but are represented instead by bronze masks: these two are Indrāyaṇī and Bāl Kumārī. In this connection, we should take note of the fact that during the Bisket *Jātrā* the statues of the goddesses are taken out of their temples and worshipped in a particular order: first Bhadrakālī, then Indrayāṇī, Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Brahmāyaṇi, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī and, finally, Tripurasundarī. The
second big festival at which the goddesses are worshipped is at Dasāī. At that time, the statues are
73 not taken out of their *dyo chē* but the inhabitants of Bhaktapur go to their *pīṭh* to do worship and
these *pīṭh* are visited in a certain order. People go first to the *pīṭh* of Brahmāyaṇī, than to that of
69 Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣnavī (Bhadrakālī), Vārāhī, Indrāyaṇī, Cāmuṇḍā (Mahākālī), Mahālakśmī and,
on the last day of the festival, to that of Tripurasundarī. This ritual sequence highlights the relationship between the *Aṣṭamātṛkā* and Tripurasundarī and the central position of the latter. The eight goddesses are moreover considered as emanations of Tripurasundarī.

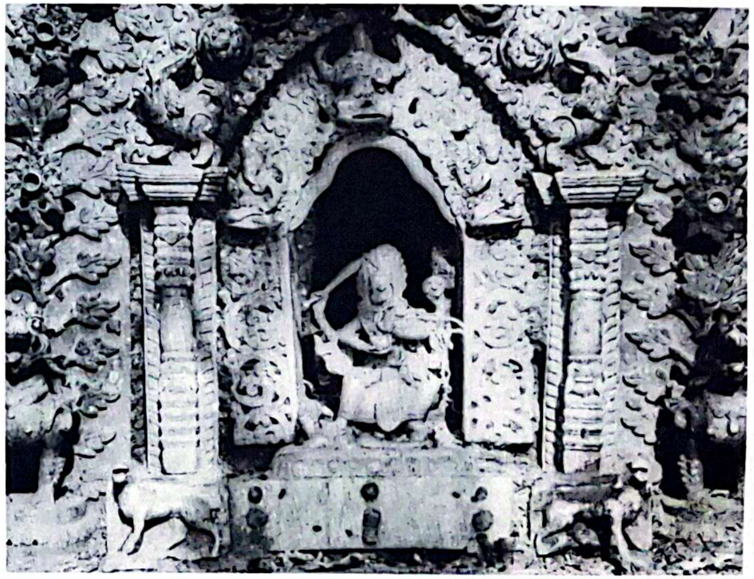
The maternal aspect of the goddesses is relatively secondary. It is not generally portrayed and they are never represented with a child as is sometimes the case in India.[9] At Bhaktapur, one finds the usual seven *mātṛkā* of India to whom are joined Mahālakṣmī and Tripurasundarī. The goddess Mahālakṣmī plays a particular role in the local pantheon, as we shall see presently. The temple of the Nava Durgā groups together some *mātṛkā,* but, in this particular case, the *mātṛkā* are not represented by bronze statues but by masks. The masks are kept inside the Nava Durgā temple and are destroyed each year at the end of the Dasāī festival. Each has a different colour:

Brahmāyaṇī	:	yellow	Vārāhī	:	red
Māheśvarī	:	white	Indrāyaṇī	:	orange
Kaumārī	:	red	Mahākālī	:	red
Vaiṣṇavī	:	green	Mahālakṣmī	:	red (flesh colour)

Mahālakṣmī has no mask, she is represented in the form of a metal plate with a triangle in its centre[10].
In reality, there are nine masks for, in addition to those of the seven *mātṛkā,* there is one mask for
Gaṇeśa and one for Bhairav. It should be stressed that there is here no representation of Tripurasundarī.
In the course of different ceremonies, the Nava Durgā dancers sacrifice in front of the representation
79 of Mahālakṣmī: the sacrificer is the dancer who wears the mask of Bhairav. The Nava Durgā temple is
a rectangular construction, a two-storeyed building with a simple house-type roof. It is identical with



66. Temple of Ākāśa Bhairav or Kāśi Viśvanāth at Taumadhi Square Bhaktapur. Constructed by Bhupatīndra Malla at the end of 17th century.

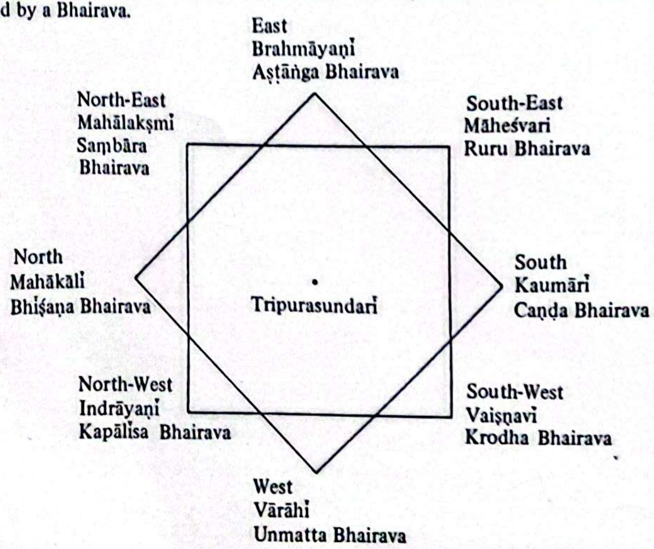


67. Detail of Ākāśa Bhairav temple: bronze of Bhairava alongside temple entrance.

the other temples of the mother-goddesses. At the main entrance there are two royal lions in stone (*rāja siṃha*). On the main facade there are six windows surmounted by *toraṇa* on which the mother-goddesses are represented. Inside the building there is a square courtyard and the masks and the dancers' costumes are kept on the first floor. The Nava Durgā dancers belong to a particular caste, the *gāthā*, "gardeners". They are appointed every year to wear the masks and carry out the dance rituals. They dance in each and every *tol* (residential unit) as well as in certain localities situated around Bhaktapur which belonged in former times to the Bhaktapur kingdom: Thimi, Nala, Panauti, Deo Patan. [11]

We have stressed the fact that the goddess Tripurasundarī is to be found in the middle of the *aṣṭamātṛkā* : her *pīṭh*, which is situated inside the town, is called *mādhya pīṭh*. The temple of
70 Tripurasundarī has the same form of a two-storeyed house as the other temples of the *mātṛkā*. The difference between her *pīṭh* and those of the others is a social one. Those in charge of the *pīṭh* of the *aṣṭa mātṛkā* situated outside the town are Poḍe who, in the Newar caste system, are Untouchables. The person in charge of the *pīṭh* of Tripurasundarī is a Kusle: he also is a member of an Untouchable caste, but a higher status than a Poḍe, and he has the right to reside within the town. The Kusle are the only category of Untouchables authorised to dwell within the town's boundaries. [12] According to learned Newar opinion, Tripurasundarī is the goddess whose residence was established at the foundation of the town of Bhaktapur. Kölver has drawn attention to a passage found in the fragmentary chronicle in the Keshar Library and also in the Bendall *Vaṃśāvalī* which indicates that Ānandamalla established Bhaktapur as a royal city with Tripurasundarī. In the ninth century, the town is said to have been called Tripura. A Newar painting, published by Kölver, which represents a ritual map of Bhaktapur, illustrates Tripurasundarī's role as the centre of the town. As Kölver remarks "its centre is occupied by the oldest goddess of the city (i.e. Tripurasundarī). She is flanked by the two deities which stand for the most important communal ritual of the Bhaktapur year (Bhadrakālī and Ākāś Bhairav): the connection is descriptive rather than dogmatic". [13] These two divinities who are represented in the painting alongside Tripurasundarī (at Bhaktapur Bhadrakālī is the equivalent of Vaiṣṇavī) are the two principal protagonists in the Bisket *Jātrā* festival. So what is portrayed in this painting stems rather from the town's real geography than from its ideal representation in the pattern of a *maṇḍala*. In this painting, Tripurasundarī is surrounded by the Eight Gaṇeśa and the Eight Bhairava and, on the outer rim, by the Eight *Mātṛkā*. Outside the town limits, are the cremation-grounds with the usual symbols which one finds in Newar paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the *liṅga*, the *stūpa*, fire, and the scavenging beasts. [14] The goddess Tripurasundarī does not play as important role in the town's life as does the goddess Taleju.

Apart from the painting, described and studied by Kölver, the inhabitants of Bhaktapur represent the positions of the *mātṛkā* in the form of two other *maṇḍala*: one is an eight-petalled lotus with Tripurasundarī in its centre; the other is formed by two *yantra*. Each *mātṛkā* is represented accompanied by a Bhairava.

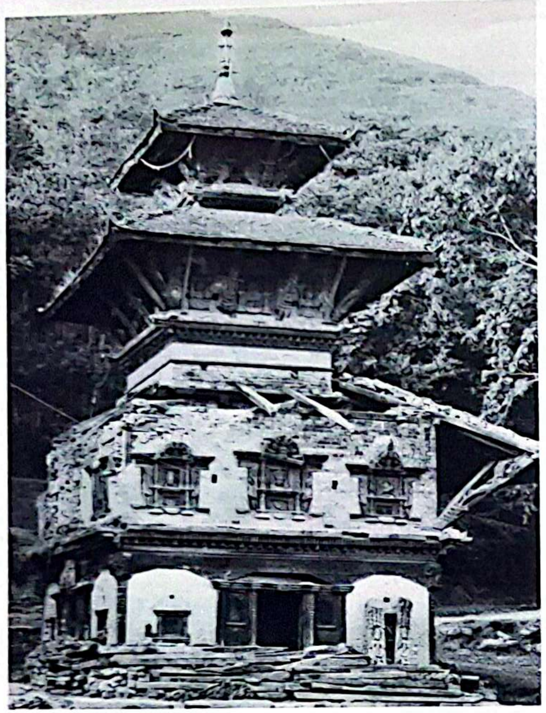


One will notice that the *Aṣṭabhairava* have neither temples nor sanctuaries. The inhabitants put a simple stone alongside each *dyo-chẽ* in order to represent one of the Bhairav. Other Newar informants point to the presence of Bhairav in one of the stones which are to be found in the *pīṭh*. Elsewhere, for instance at Kathmandu, Patan and at Panauti, there are however, temples of Unmatta Bhairav which have the form of a *dyo-chẽ*.

Open sanctuaries (*pīṭh*)

The open sanctuaries, the *pīṭh*, literally altars or seats, [15] are situated outside the town-limits on a hillock, surrounded by trees, and close to a river or a cremation place. The legend which explains the origin of the *pīṭh* and which is known to the inhabitants of Bhaktapur derives from Indian tradition: it has been summarized by Sircar: "In still later times probably about the earlier part of the medieval period, a new legend was engrafted to the old story simply for the sake of explaining the origin of *Pīṭhas*. According to certain later Purāṇa and Tantras (*devībhāgavata*, VII, ch. 30; *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 18, etc.) Śiva became inconsolable at the death of his beloved wife Satī, and after the destruction of Dakṣā's sacrifice, he wandered over the earth in mad dance with Satī's dead body on his shoulder (or head). The gods now became anxious to free Śiva from his infatuation and made a conspiracy to deprive him of his wife's dead body. Thereupon Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śani entered the dead body by *yoga* and disposed of it gradually and bit by bit. The places where pieces of Satī's dead body fell are said to have become *Pīṭhas*, i.e. holy seats or resorts of the mother-goddess, in all of which she is represented to be constantly living in some form together with Bhairava, i.e. a form of her husband Śiva. According to a modified version of this story it was Viṣṇu who, while following Śiva, cut Satī's dead body on Śiva's shoulder or head, piece by piece, by his arrows or his discus. The story of the association of particular limbs of the mother-goddess with Śākta *tīrthas*, which may have some relation with the Tantric ritual called *Pīṭha-nyāsa*, belongs, as already pointed out, to the latest stage in the development of an ancient tale". [16] The number of *pīṭhas* in local tradition varies from four to thirty-two. We were assured that at Tripurasundarī's *pīṭh* in Bhaktapur one of Satī Devī's fifty important parts fell (in this case the left ribs); at Guheṣorī it was her genital organ. [17] All the *Mātṛkā* too came out from the pieces of flesh which fell down. The role mythology has played in the creation of sacred spaces, such as the *pīṭhas*, has often been stressed and one of the most recent analyses is due to W. C. Beane. This author points out, quoting V. S. Agrawala, that the moral of the *śāktapīṭha* mythology is ultimately 'the broad-based apotheosis of the motherland conceived in the form of encagised centres for tantric and yogic *sādhana* or for practising special meditation and spiritual discipline'. In his own somewhat laboured prose Mr. Beane pursues: "What is finally remarkable about the relation between the mythic event (the Satī-Suicide) and the Birth of Sacred Space (*Śāktapīṭhas*) is another thing; that is, the Puruṣa/Prajāpati "dismemberment" in the Vedo-Brahmanic tradition is now capable of being structurally understood within the aetiology of the *pīṭha*-motif, so that there is essentially the transformation of anthropocosmic reality into *topocosmic* reality". [18] Most studies of Indian *pīṭhas* published to date have been philological researches based on written sources. What is remarkable in the case of the Newar *pīṭh* is that these latter play today a vital role in the religious organisation of a town such as Bhaktapur and are not matter of antiquarian, bookish interest.

Pīṭh are buildings of brick and wood and are rectangular in plan. Their base, composed of bricks 68
and stones, is raised 30 or 50 centimetres above the surrounding ground-level. They have only one full wall; the rest of the construction is supported by wooden columns which are sometimes carved. *Pīṭh* have a tiled, sloping roof like that of a Newar dwelling; but sometimes they have two such roofs, superimposed. The inscriptions that are to be found at the different *pīṭh* are from the 17th century: that at the Mahākālī's *pīṭh* is dated 1661 and mentions the name of Pratāp Malla: on that of Indrāyaṇī one can read two dates, 1670 and 1791; the *pīṭh* of Māheśvarī was founded in 1746 by 71
king Ranjit Malla; the *pīṭh* of Mahālakṣmī, in Kalachẽ *tol*, which is square in plan, has inscriptions which mention the gift of stone lions in 1650. In three of the *pīṭh* there is no edifice to shelter the stones: these are the *pīṭh* of Bal Kumārī, Mahākālī and Tripurasundarī. In the other *pīṭh*, the stones which are worshipped lean against the wall of the edifice. In front of each *pīṭh* there is a platform, made of stone slabs or bricks, which delimits the sacred area: at the entrance are a pair of stone lions and a bell. On the central facade there are wooden *toraṇa*, identical with the *torana* in the *dyo-chẽ*. The stones inside the *pīṭh* are surmounted by a stone arched buttress which reproduces the decora-



68. *Brāhmayaṇī* pīṭh *at Panauti. Inside there are no statues. On the outer walls are wooden masks of the* Aṣṭa-mātṛkā. *Constructed 1717.*

69. Wooden mask of Vārāhī in Brāhmayaṇī pīṭh *window-frame.*

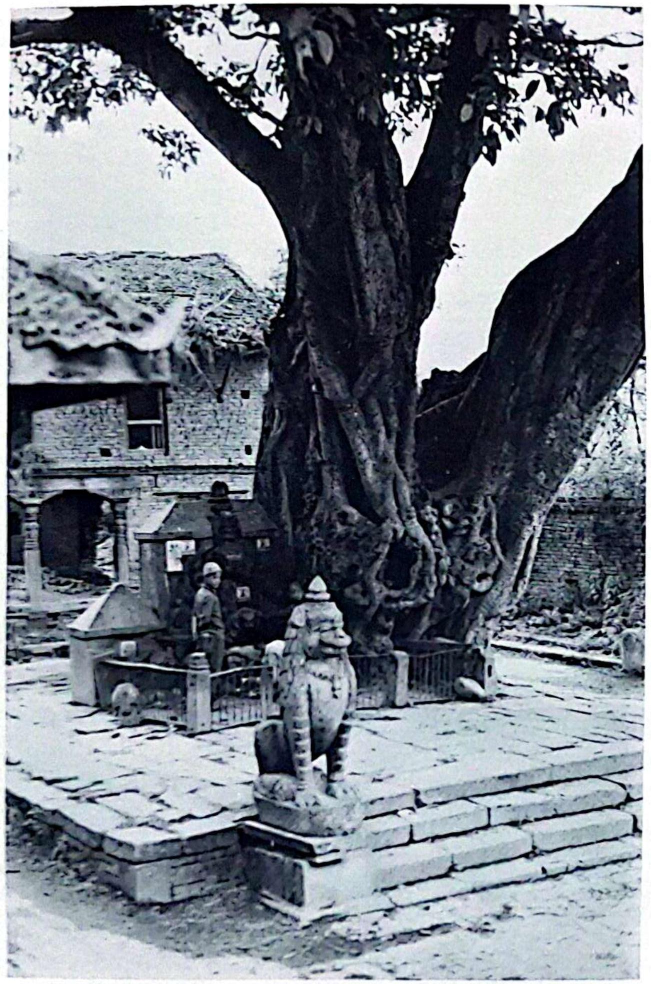
70. Tripurasundarī dyo-chē *at Bhaktapur.*

tion of the upper part of the *toraṇa* in wood. Generally the decoration of these arched buttresses in the *pīṭh* is somewhat simpler than that of the wooden *toraṇas.* The Newar form of Garuḍa is always present: but the female personnages and the *makara* are absent.

The edifices in the *pīṭh* are similar to other constructions both profane and religious: these are the *pāṭī* (Newari : *phale* or *phalecca*), the *sattal* and the *maṇḍap* or *maḍu* all three of which are often designated by the more general term of *dharmaśālā.* [19] Here is one definition of the *pāṭī*: "Characteristically the *pāṭī* is a partially enclosed, roofed platform (the *phale*) constructed either as a lean-to, against and between other buildings, as a colonnaded porch built into a building (usually a private house) or as a free-standing structure with saddle-back (double-pitched) roof. Frequently the *pāṭī* roof slopes in four directions, the hipped roof, or, reflecting the common house-roof, attaches a short pented collar to the gable-ends as a quasi-hipped roof".[20] The second type, the *maṇḍapa* is a square platform surmounted by a roof which is supported by free-standing pillars. The *maṇḍapa* which could be described as a colonnaded pavillon has usually only one floor. It has all the functions of a *pāṭī* "and performs additional services as council-hall and bourse". This type of construction is more frequently found in towns. The *sattal,* which is of more imposing dimensions, serves at the same time as a resting-place and temple; inside there is an altar with an image of the divinity. A feature of this type of building is a room, a masonary-walled room, on the first floor where secret worship takes place and which the Newars call the *āgama.* Mary Slusser is right to argue that the basic difference between these three types of construction is functional: "one can scarcely establish a convincing distinction between *sattal* (Sanskrit: *sattra,* "alms-house") and common *pāṭī* and *maṇḍapa.* It shares with them both function and, essentially, form and often, in common practice, at least their names. There is a difference, however, which primarily lies in degree of function. For the *sattal,* albeit a free public shelter, caters to a more permanent occupation - often of God as well 87 as man - than do the common *pāṭī* and ordinary *maṇḍapa.* The *sattal,* therefore, is architecturally modified to meet these new demands". [21] With regard to the temples of the mother-goddesses, we have noted that that of Mahākālī has a *pāṭī* which functions as a place of rest and entertainment for travellers and also a meeting place for the residents of that particular *tol* of the town. Often, in the evenings, musicians come together there and play *bhajana.* From a functional point of view we might therefore classify this example as mid-way between *pāṭī* and a *sattal.* What distinguishes a *pīṭh* from a *pāṭī* is above all its outer decoration, constituted by the wooden *toraṇa* on its central façade, their decoration being identical to that of the *dyo-chē* of the *mātṛkā.*

A striking parallel can be drawn with the *digu-dyo,* the lineage sanctuaries situated outside the town-limits, and sometimes close to the *pīṭh.* These sanctuaries are composed of simple stones surmounted by an arched buttress of stone. They are identical with the stones that are to be found in the *pīṭh.* The *digu-dyo* is the tutelary divinity of a lineage (*phuki*) to which a cult is rendered annually. During the celebration of this cult, the stones are decorated with all the attributes of a divinity; the divinity is invoked into the stone and is the same divinity as that which is lodged in the *Āgama chē,* the lineage sanctuary within the town, where the worship is reserved to the initiated (those who received the *dīkṣā*) and where worship takes place daily (*nitya pūjā*). There is the same complementary relationship between the lineage temple inside the town, which is enclosed and where worship is secret and reserved to initiates (the *Āgama-chē*) - the temple for the mother-goddess inside the town is the *dyo-chē* - and the open sanctuary outside the limits of the town, where the divinity is represented aniconically in the form of stones, as in the *pīṭh.* The dichotomy between what is secret and closed, *guhya,* and what is open and outside, *bāhya,* is fundamental not only in the categories of Newar religious thought but in all Newar life in society.

Nowadays, the word *pīṭh* is applied not only to the outside sanctuaries dedicated to the mother-goddesses but also to all the open sanctuaries of Gaṇeś. One particularly interesting case is that of the temple of Chumā Gaṇeś which has both a *dyo-chē* and a *pīṭh.* The statue of Chumā Gaṇeś which is taken out from its *dyo-chē* on the seventh day of the annual festival of Bisket *Jātrā* is kept for the rest of the year in its *dyo-chē.* Its *pīṭh* is just next-door to its *dyo-chē.* Gaṇeś' role is a special one. He is invoked in every ritual and each and every quarter of the town has some form of Gaṇeś in a sanctuary: this often bears the name of the locality. Here is the list of the Gaṇeś which have, at Bhaktapur, both a *pīṭh* and a *dyo chē.*



71. *Indrayanī pīṭh at Bhaktapur.*

Name of Gaṇeś	Name of the town-quarter where *pīṭh* is situated	*Pīṭh* attendant	Name of the town-quarter where *dyo chē* is situated
Chumā	Chochē	Kusle	Chochē
Bālākhu	Yalachē	Kusle	Yalachē
50 Salā	Tacupal	Kusle	Tacupal
Dahi Binayak	Tibuckchhē	Kusle	Tibukchhē
Golmadhi	Golmadhi	Kusle	Golmadhi
Surya Binayak	Surya Binayak	Poḍe	Bolachē
Itachē	Itachē	Kusle	Itachē

It is clear from the above list that all the *pīṭh* which are within the town limits are served by Kusle attendants. This was also the case of the *pīṭh* of Tripurasundarī as we have seen above. The only *pīṭh* on the list which has a Poḍe attendant is Surje Vinayak which lies outside the town.

In each quarter of the town there must also be a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu in the form of Nārāyaṇa. The presence of these temples is linked to the fact that all Newar women after the *I-hy* ceremony are the "wives" of Viṣṇu and are still bound to the divinity after divorce or the death of their mortal husbands.

The Structuring of urban space

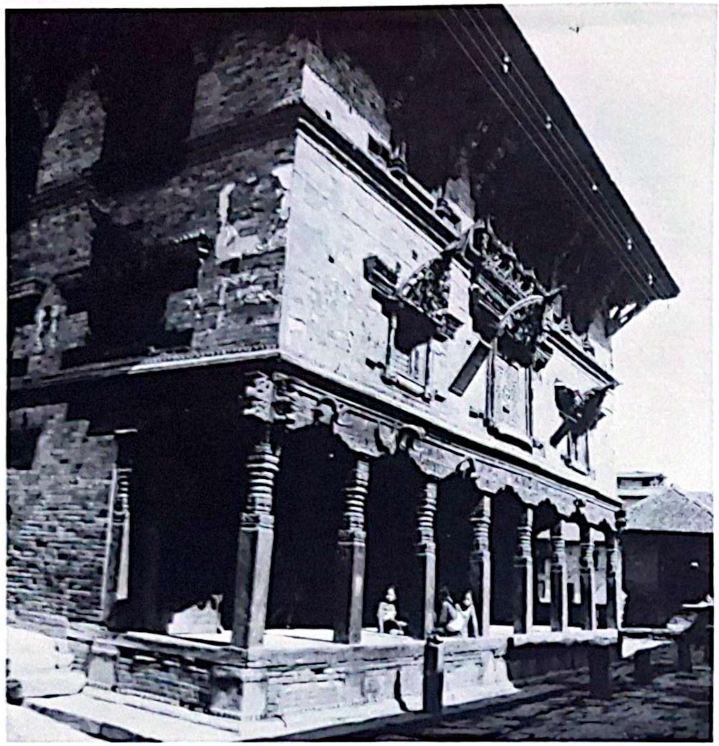
The town of Bhaktapur is divided into nine sectors each of which bears the name of a mother-goddess. In the centre of the town is the temple of Tripurasundarī. It would appear that in the two other royal towns (Patan and Kathmandu) there is no temple of the goddess Tripurasundarī and so in her context at Bhaktapur she may be considered to be a local goddess. [22] Outside the limits of the town, close to each *pīṭh,* is to be found a cremation-place and a cemetery. The Newars say that each mother-goddess has her *śmaśāna* a word which designates both a burial-ground and a burning-ground. The Newari names of these *śmaśāna* are not however, well known and have perhaps been forgotten. Today four of these *śmaśāna* are well known *macha ponghale* (Newari : *śmaśāna*).

Brahṁāyanī	Bhutipakho
Māheśvarī	Paśi Khyau
Hanuman	Khora
Cupī	Mudigpa

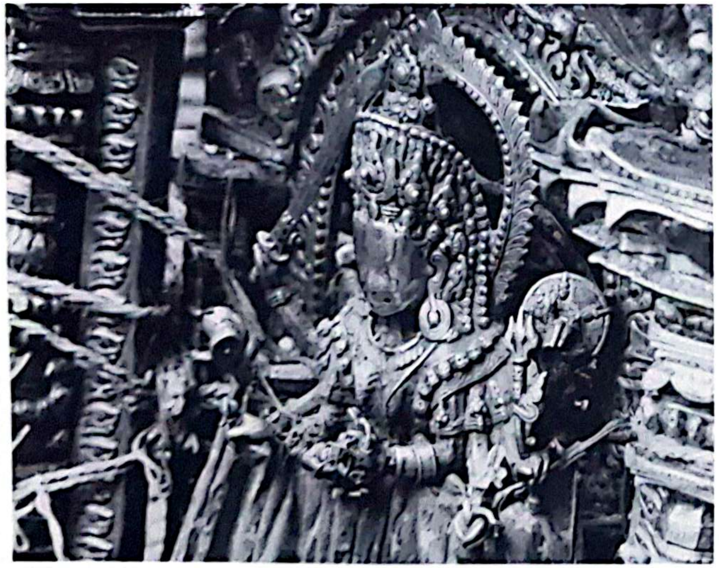
Children who die before the age of three, including those who are still-born, are not cremated but are buried close to the *pīṭh.* The *pīṭh* of Māheśvarī occupies a special function. Not only are children who die young buried there but also Kusle adults, members of the Untouchable caste who were previously Jogis, as well as Sannyasi. Buffaloes destined for sacrifice to Durgā at the Dasāī festival (called *Ka-may*) and who die before the festival time are also buried there. According to Brahmin and Vajrācārya informants, there should be, in each *śmaśāna,* a *caitya,* a Bhairav, a spring of water, a *liṅga,* a tree and an image of Gaṇeś. [23]

The inhabitants of Bhaktapur must bury their children who die premature deaths, and must cremate their adult dead, in the sector of the town in which they reside. For instance, these who live in the Eastern part of the town go to cremate their dead close to the Brahmāyaṇī *ghāṭ.* At the present time there are three *ghāṭ* which are still functioning: Hanuman *ghāṭ,* Cup'i *ghāṭ* and Kasan Kuśi *ghāṭ.* Daily *pūjā* (*nitya pūjā*) is always done in the *pīṭh* of the *māṭṛkā* or in the sanctuaries of Gaṇeś. Those who live in the Eastern part of the town will never do their *pūjā* at the *pīṭh* of Indrāyaṇī which is situated in the Western part of the town.

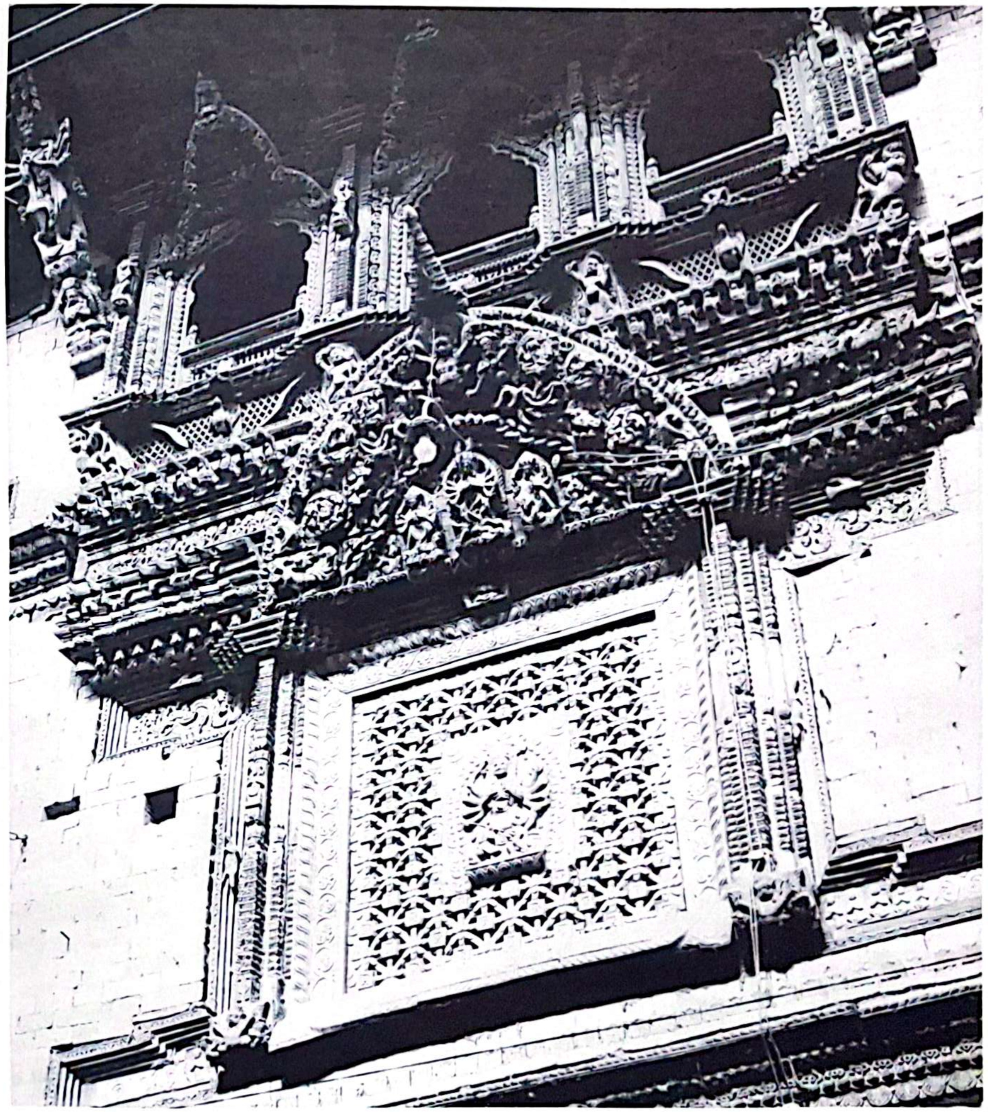
In Newar painting, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, one finds from the fifteenth century onwards, *maṇḍala* with the eight *śmaśāna.* One usually finds in such *paṭa,* the *śmaśāna* arranged in a circle around a central divinity. In Nepal the different forms of *maṇḍala* which represent the eight



72. *Mahākālī* dyo-chē *at Bhaktapur.*



73. *Statue of Mahākālī (Camuṇḍā) in bronze, which is taken out once a year from the temple to the* pīṭh *during the festival of Bisket* jātrā.



74. *Detail of Mahākālī* dyo-chē. *Representation of Mahākālī Camuṇḍā in centre of first-floor window of gilt lattice-work.*

cemeteries have been well described by P. H. Pott [24] and in the translation by S. Lévi of the captions on the painting illustrating Svayambhunāth, one finds the list of the eight mother-goddesses, of the Bhairava, and of the Eight Cemeteries, etc. [25] What is important from our point of view is that the *maṇḍala* is to be found again at the Bhaktapur town-level and that it is functional.

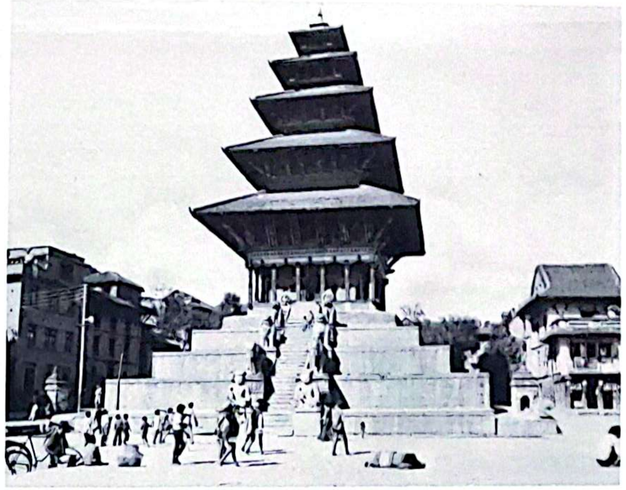
It would appear that this religious structuring of urban space is not ancient. If one accepts oral tradition, it seems to have been inspired by king Jitāmitra Malla in the XVIIth century. This tradition receives confirmation in the dates of the temple inscriptions as these foundations generally date from the seventeenth century. While we can, at present, study buildings which go back to the seventeenth century, it is certain that the sites on which these buildings now stand were associated long before the seventeenth century with cults and rituals. The nine-fold divisions of the town of Bhaktapur must ultimately be related to traditions such as those summarised in Wright's *Vaṃśavālī* and where it is stated that Sivadeva, the last of the Licchavi "... built nine new tols, or divisions of the city, and erected nine Ganeshas.... He founded and peopled the place known as Navatol, after performing all the requisite ceremonies, and established four Gaṇeśa, four Bhairavas, four Nritya Nāthas, four Mahādevas, four Kumārīs, four Buddhas, four Khambas, four Gaganacharis, and four Chatushpathas or crossways with Bhūta images. Then, after establishing an Avarna deity in each tol or division of Deva Patan, he erected an image of Śiva. He invoked Mahāmrityunjaya to protect men from untimely death" [26] The above passage, it will be objected, refers to Deopatan and not to Bhaktapur. But this in itself is significant, for four-fold and eight fold divisions of space in various parts of the valley by other cultural heroes has been stressed elsewhere in our text. *Dyo-chē* of the *mātṛkā* are also to be found in Kathmandu - for instance those of Indrāyanī and Bhadrākālī: and close to the *ghāṭ* on the banks of the Bāgmatī, there is a *pīṭh* of Indrāyaṇī. However the study of the different manifestations of the Devī in the Valley (the temples at Banepa, at Harasiddhi, etc.) is still in its initial stages. And if we have chosen to draw attention to the Bhaktapur example, this is because at Bhaktapur one is still in presence of a system of representations which is functional. Elsewhere one finds the *disjecta membra* of the system but it is no longer a living reality. Archeology might reconstruct it: but ethnographical description elsewhere than at Bhaktapur would be suggestive of a model the existence of which could not be proven empirically.

S. Lévi wrote: "The only goddesses which deserve to be mentioned for their local function, apart from the multiple incarnations of the Devī, are the Eight Mothers (*Aṣṭamātṛkā*) who are considered as the Guardians of the Nepalese towns". [27] At Bhaktapur the mother-goddesses do play the role of guardians. And as we have seen, they determine the religious organisation of the whole town. It is clear that this form of religious organisation by and with *Aṣṭamātṛkā* is to be found not only in Bhaktapur but in other Newar localities such as Panauti, which was formerly part of the kingdom of Bhaktapur.

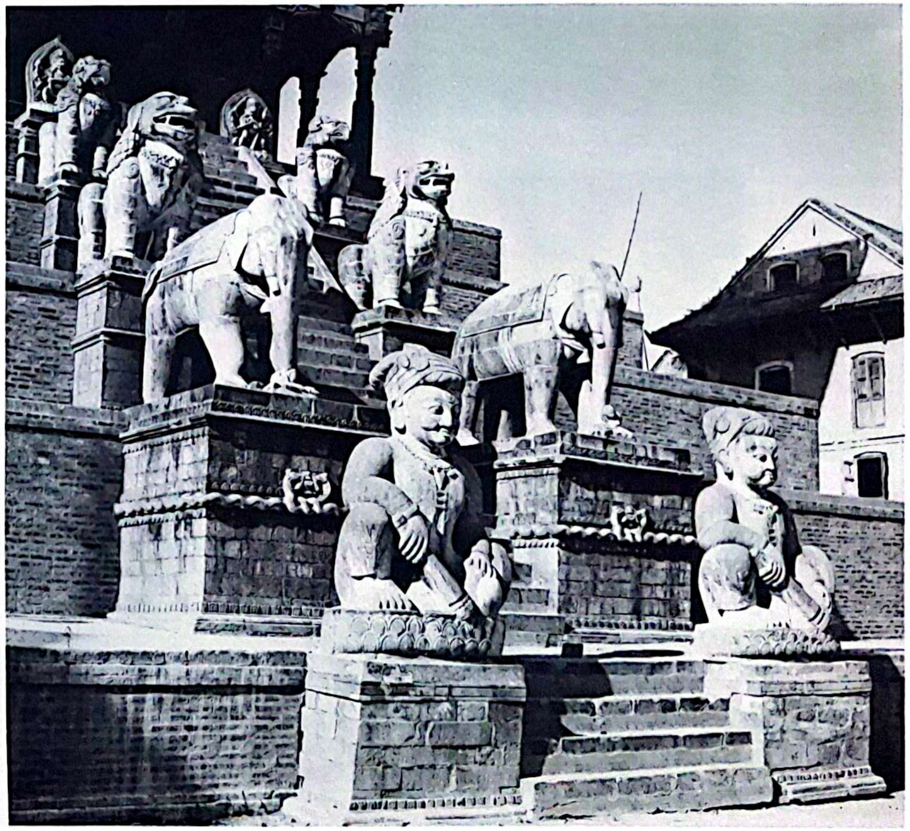
At Bhaktapur the *Aṣṭamātṛkā* are grouped at the four cardinal points and at the four intermediary directions and around the central figure of Tripurasundarī. The patterns in which these nine figures are placed evokes the Buddhist pattern in which Vairocana is in the centre with the four Jina at the cardinal points and four Bodhisattvas in the intermediate directions. But this is because, both in Hinduism and in Buddhism, space, as Oldenberg remarked, [28] and in this case he meant "ordered" as opposed to "free" space, was conceived of as "a lotus flower the petals of which are the cardinal points and at the four intermediary points." To place a god or gods in this pattern was to order space: it was also to take the town which they protected out of the context of disordered space which surrounded it. To place towns on an eight-petalled lotus was to lift them out of ordinary time.

Pyramid Temples

In every day speech, Newars make a distinction between two sorts of buildings: the *dega*: which are 'pagoda-style' temples and the *dyo-chē* which are temples that have the aspect of dwelling-houses. The expression *dyo-chē* is used to designate the temples of *Aṣṭamātṛkā*. Architecturally the best known of the pagoda style temples is the 'five storeyed' temple which the Newars call
76 Nyātapola *dega*. It stands on and above a five-stepped pyramid. The five super-imposed platforms
77 diminish in size as they ascend and are linked together by a staircase which is situated on the southern facade. On the topmost platform is the temple, built from brick and wood, with five super-



75. *Temple of Nyātapola at Bhaktapur.*
Built at the time of Bhupatīndra Malla, late 17th century.



76. *Stone stairway from Tamaudhi Square up to the entrance of Nyātapola.*

77. *Detail of Nyātapola stairway: lioness.*

78. *Detail of Nyātapola stairway: Vyāghriṇī.*

imposed roofs of decreasing size and similar form. The *garbha gṛha* is situated within. The roofs are covered with red tiles and under their overhang are slanted struts ornamented by wooden polychrome sculptures. The construction of this temple was begun by Bhūpatīndra Malla (1690-1722) and is reputed to have been completed by 1701. According to oral tradition, the king built the temple to apease the anger of Ākāś Bhairav and he installed therein a Tantric goddess, Siddhi Lakṣmī.[29] This goddess is not allowed to be seen by the faithful masses; only Rājopadhyāyā Brahmins have the right to go inside the temple and accomplish *pūjā* at certain times in the year.

Opposite the Nyātapola temple, on Taumadhi Square, is the temple of Ākāś Bhairav. This Bhairav is said to have come to Bhaktapur from Benares; iconographically this Bhairav is represented only by a mask of his head. [30] The Ākāś Bhairav temple is a rectangular construction which rises directly from ground level. It has three superimposed roofs. This temple was erected during the reign of Bhūpatīndra Malla before Nyātapola *dega*: Ākāś Bhairav plays a special role in the religious life of the town. Along with Bhadrakalī, he is the principal personage in the festival of Bisket *Jātrā*. Moreover some of Bhaktapur's inhabitants say that just as Tripurasundarī is in the centre of the *Aṣṭamātṛkā,* so is Ākāś Bhairav in the centre of the Aṣṭabhairav. [31]

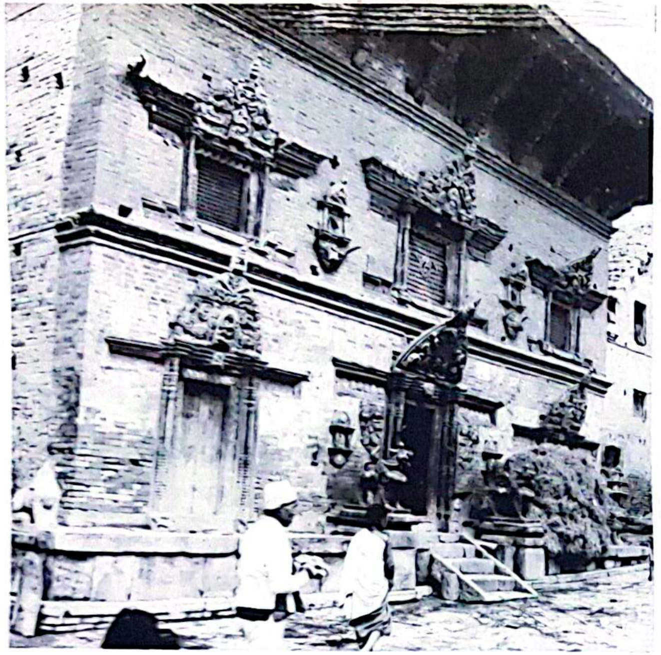
If one has the usual reflexes of an art historian, a temple such as Nyātapola Dega brings to mind the Khmer mountain-temples, as they are called, and in particular Baksei Chamkrong (Angkor) and Prang of Prasat Thom and Koh Ker, both of the 10th century, and facing towards the east. However, what we know, through epigraphy, of one and the other does not permit us to pursue the analogy further. The structures evoke Mt. Kailāsa and the denizens of its slopes, but in a vague enough manner. At Banteay Srei (967 A.D.) two frontons represent the Kailāsa as a four-storeyed pyramid, and the hosts of each of its platforms, more in accord with Indian iconography, bear only a distant relationship to those figured in this instance. (See the temple of Iśvarapura, in the Archaeological Memoirs of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1926). However they seem to help us to understand that the allusions made here are to Kailāsa and the Himālaya in Indian cosmology.

Two other temples are situated on stepped pyramids and are dedicated to two tantric goddesses; one is dedicated to Bhagavatī and the other to Vatsalā Devī. They are both situated close to the royal palace and are of stone construction. In both cases the construction which rises from the topmost **51,81,21** platform of the pyramid is a *śikhara*: placed around the central *śikhara* are four stone towers; in the niches of these towers are stone sculptures representing diverse images of the *Mātṛkā.* These temples were also built under Bhūpatīndra Malla at the end of the seventeenth century. It has been argued that the temple of Vatsalā Devī is a version of the Kṛṣna temple at Patan, but this seems unlikely when one makes a detailed architectural examination of the two.

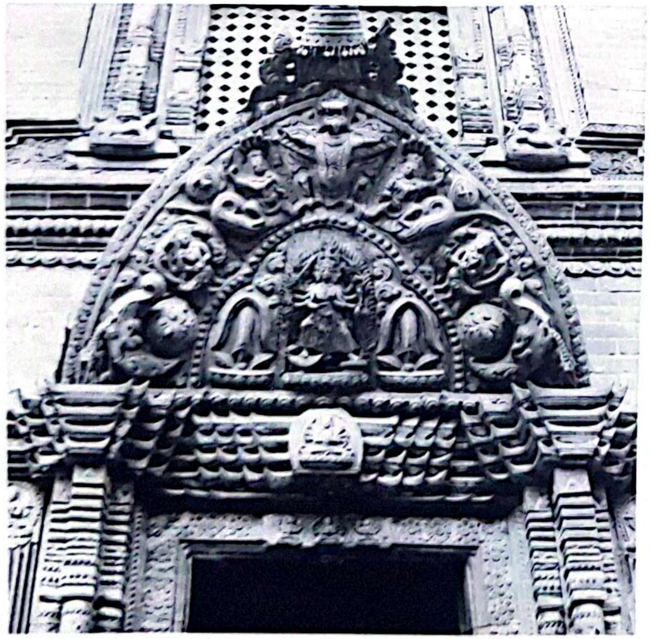
Another temple, dedicated to Śiva in Khauma *tol,* previously rose above five stepped terraces. Today the base alone remains, consisting of five stepped terraces. The upper part, where the *garbha gṛha* used to be, was destroyed by earthquakes, the most devastating of which took place in 1934. According to the inscription which is to be found close by the temple, it was built in 1667 by Jagatprakāś Malla.

One should also draw attention to another temple which is known as Phasi *Dega* and which is also dedicated to Śiva. It has the same five-terraced, pyramidical base. The upper part was destroyed in the 1934 earthquake. Phasi *Dega* and the Khauma *tol Dega* have bases of stone, and not of bricks as is the case of Nyātapola.

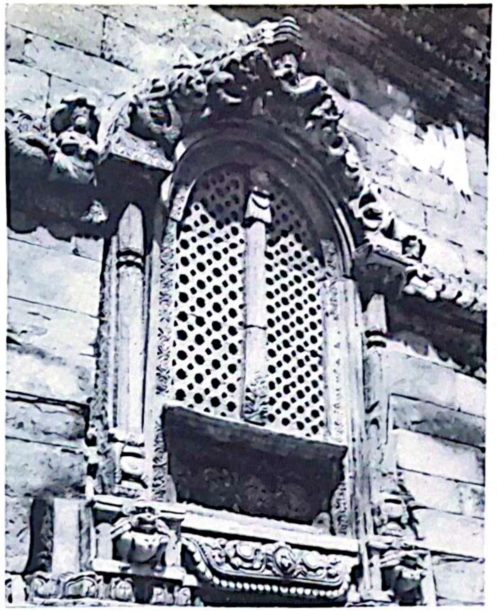
All the above-mentioned temples have entrances situated on the southern facade and a staircase which links the terraces together. On either side of the staircase on the southern facade of Nyātapola *dega* are to be found ranks of huge guardians: "at the bottom are the giants Jaya Malla and Phatta, athletes in the king's service and reputed to have the strength of ten men; above them are two elephants ten times stronger yet; then, continuing this decimal progression in muscular vigour, two lions, two tigers and the goddesses Siṅghinī and Vyāghriṇī". [32] The same guardians are **78** to be found at the entrance to the temple dedicated to Śiva in Khauma *tol.* The two wrestlers or royal athletes, are to be found also at the entrance to Dattatreya temple, another temple of royal function erected by Yakṣa Malla (1426-80) in the fifteenth century.[33] The significance of these



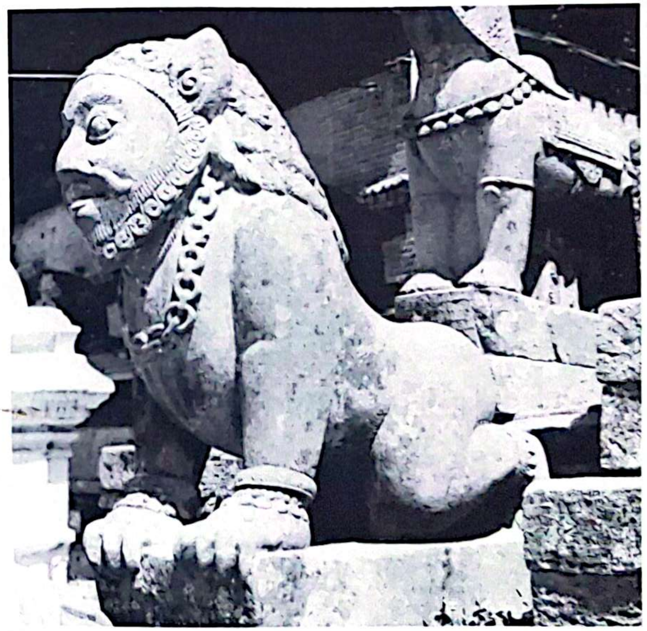
79. *Navā Durgā* dyo-chē *at Bhaktapur. Inside, on the first floor, are kept the masks of the dancers; the latter are chosen from among members of the* gatha jāt *(gardeners).*



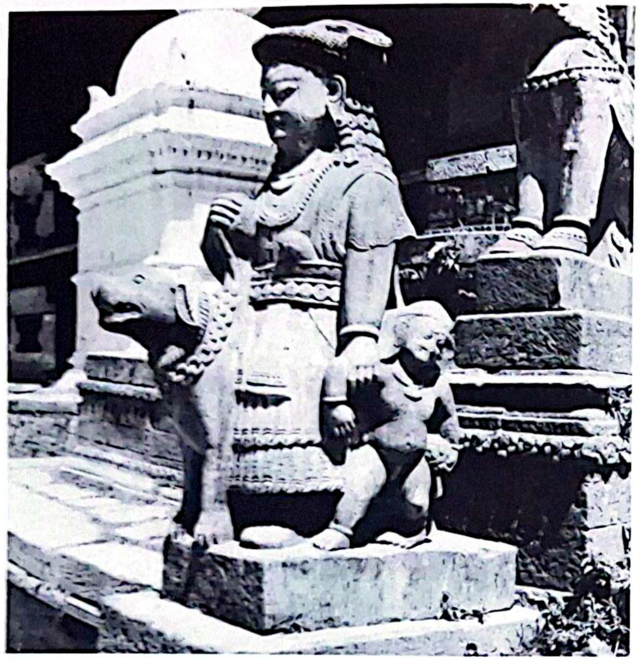
80. *Gilt copper* toraṇa *representing Brahmayanī, one of the* Aṣṭa-mātṛkā, *above the entrance to Navā Durgā* dyo-chē.



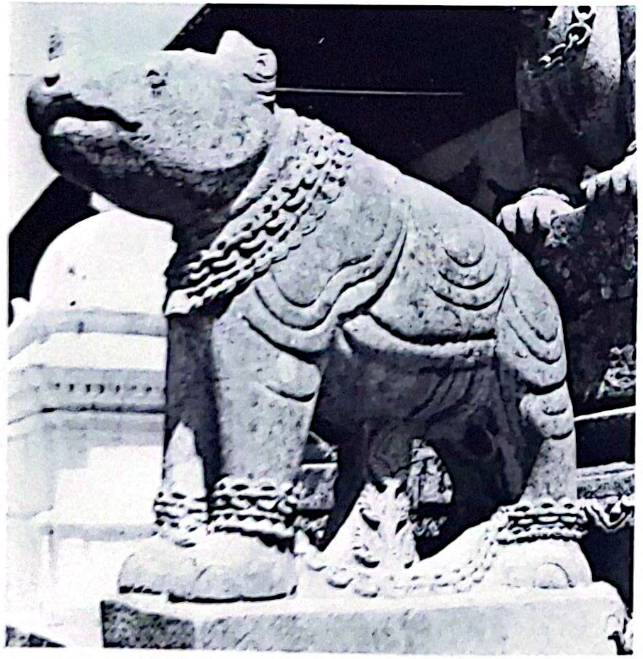
81. *Detail of Bhagavatī temple stone window. (ill.51)*



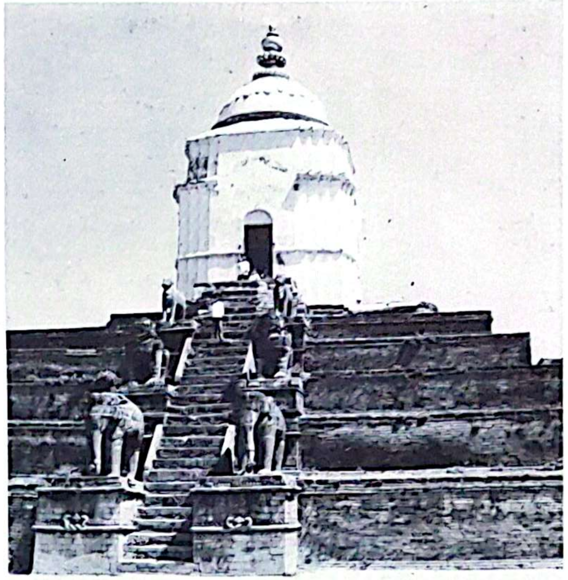
82. *Detail of the stairway of Bhagavatī temple: one of the animals. (ill.51)*



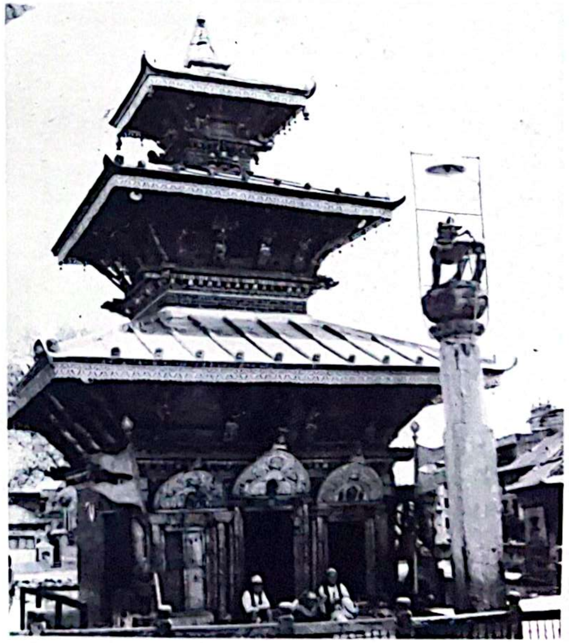
83. *Detail of the stairway of Bhagavatī temple: a guardian (New.* Kutuwa*). (ill.51)*



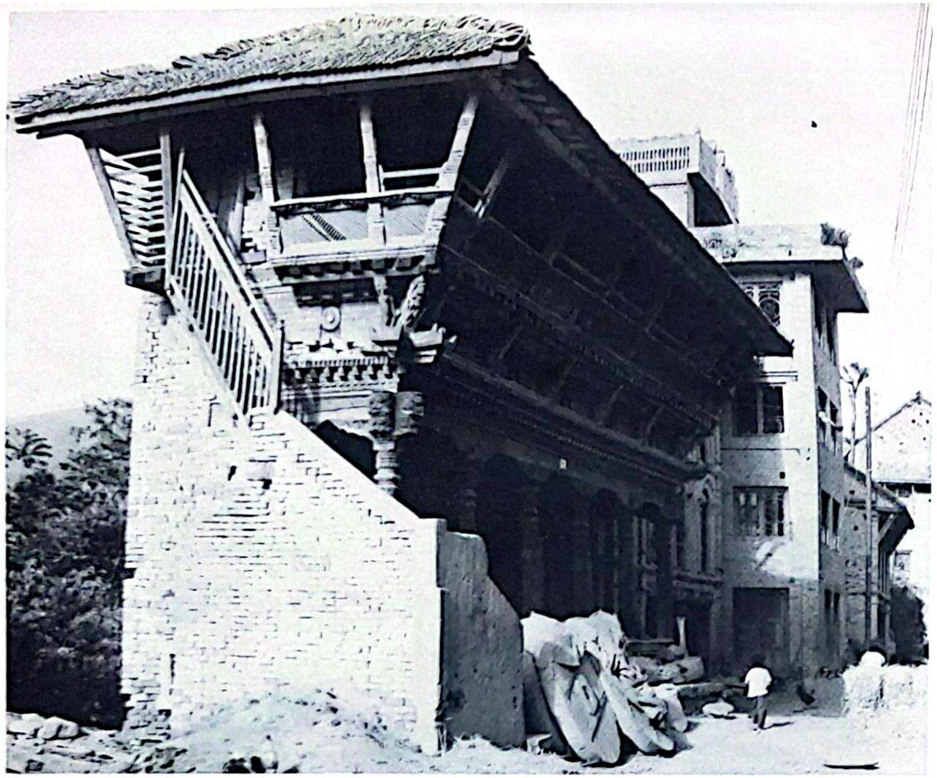
84. *Detail of stairway of Bhagavatī temple: rhinoceros. (ill.51)*



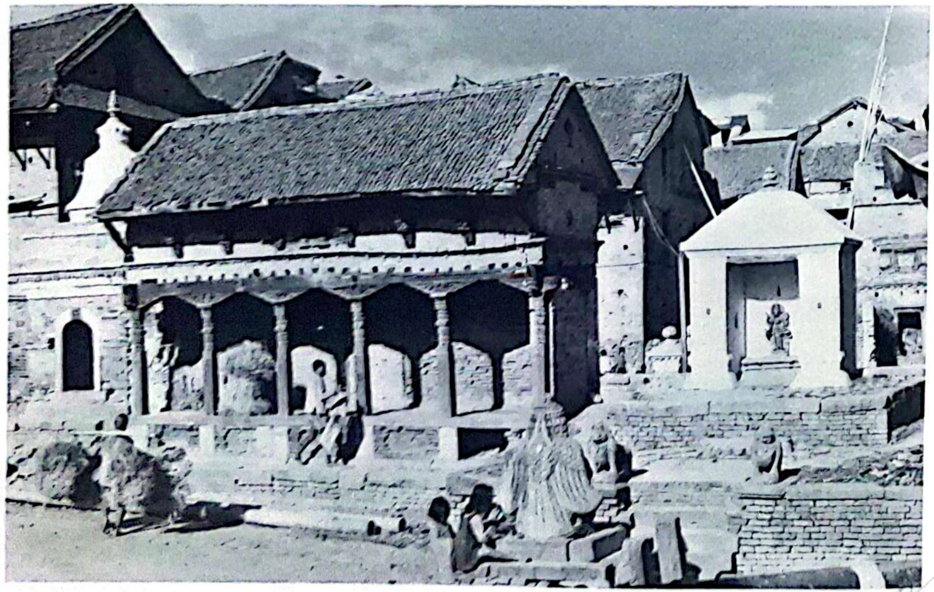
85. *Phasi* dega *on Darbar Square, Bhaktapur.*
The upper part was destroyed in the earthquake of 1934 A.D.



86. *Temple of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇ at Bhaktapur.*



87. Sattal at *Panauti*



88. Pāṭi *(rest house) at* Panauti.

Bhaktapur

guardians and the symbolism of the mythical animals are no longer known. In certain paintings,
dragons, elephants and other animals surround the principal personnage on his throne and to some
extent seem to support the latter. One might suggest that these animal-guardians were associated 35
with royal power. Various stories are told about the two athletes. For instance, they are said to have
arrived in Bhaktapur from Jaipur at the time when Bhūpatīndra Malla was in the process of building
the Nyātapola *dega.* At that time considerable difficulty was being experienced by the workmen in
installing the *gajur* on the summit of the top-most roof, and huge scaffolding had been erected for
this purpose. When they saw the difficulty of the other workmen, the two athletes themselves climbed
up and put the *gajur* in place. The king was so astonished by their prowess that he decided his
daughters should marry them. That is why it is sometimes said that these two huge statues represent
the king's sons-in-law.

The temple dedicated to Bhagavatī has also two ranks of guardians but these are not the same 83
as those at Nyātapola: in this case we find a camel, a horse, a rhinoceros, a dragon and a statue of
guardian (new. *Kutuwa*), with a child. According to local informants these animals are the vehicles
of Durgā. Karmakar writes that animals of fabulous variety can be associated with the Devī: "Birds,
tortoises, alligator, fish, nine species of wild animals, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, ichneumons, wild 82
bears, rhinoceros, antelopes, iguanas, rein-deer, lions, tigers".[34] To the best of our knowledge, this
is the only temple in the valley which has such animals as rhinoceros and camel on the entrance 84
façade.

These temples with pyramidical bases at Bhaktapur date from the seventeenth century and are without exception Śaivite; they are dedicated either to Śiva or to a particular Śākti. Staircase entrances are situated on the southern façade, with one exception, being the temple of Vatsalā Devī, the entrance to which faces east. The ranks of guardians on the staircases are one of the characteristics of the temples of Bhaktapur, compared to other temples in the valley.

Notes

1. It seems that Bhaktapur (or Bhatgaon) is the most recent of the three principal towns of the valley of Kathmandu : according to oral tradition it was founded in the ninth century A.D. At the end of the fourteenth century, the status of the locality changed and it became the capital of the kingdom of Bhaktapur. The religion of the inhabitants is predominantly Hindu: 80% of the population is śivaite. The monuments which one sees today were built between the second half of the fifteenth century and the eighteenth century. Religious edifices are still numerous despite the succession of earthquakes (1808, 1833 and 1934). Despite a few economic and social transformations the town retains its ancient way of life, which is to a great extent regulated by religion.
2. Taleju was the tutelary divinity of the Malla kings: the image of the Goddess was brought, it is said, from India by king Harisiṃha-deva in the first half of the fourteenth century. After the division of the Malla kingdom into three separate kingdoms in 1482, other temples for Taleju were built, one in Kathmandu by Mahendra Malla en 1576 one at Patan by Siddhinara Simha (1620-1661) At Bhaktapur and at Patan both temples form part of the palace complex.
3. H. Jørgensen, *A Dictionary of the classical Newari,* Levin and Munksgaard, Copenhague, 1936, p. 111, *pithu* = outside or *pi-thya,* outside.
4. The other Hindu inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley - the Chetri, the Parbatiyā, the Brahmins - ignore these Tantric cults and practices.
5. M. Shepherd Slusser and G. Vajracarya, 'Two Medieval Nepalese buildings: an architectural study', in *Artibus Asiae,* no. XXXVI, 3(1974), p. 169-218. The authors point out that other religious edifices known as *sattals* are surmounted by an *āgama*: "a rather unusual feature of the upper storey is the presence of an *āgama,* or secret shrine, a masonary walled room in front of which is the screened sleeping area".
6. This form of Garuḍa which constitutes one of the main features of Newar art is found not only in wooden and stone sculpture but also in paintings, especially in the *paṭa* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The same form of Garuḍa is to be found in Thai and Khmer art. See J. Boisselier, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande,* Paris Bibliothèque des Arts, 1974, and P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal,* The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, no date, p. 120.
7. *Kathmandu Valley. The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage. A Protective Inventory.* Vienna, A. Schroll, 1975, vol. I, p. 35. We do not understand the expression Ogamdevda. Perhaps it is a printing mistake for *Āgam-dyo.*
8. This ritual of initiation is known by both Buddhamargi and Śivamargi Newars. For the *dikṣa* among the Buddhist Newars, see M. Allen, Buddhism without monks: the Vajrayāna Religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley, *Journal of South Asian Studies,* no. 3, (1973), (University of Western Australia), p. 1-14.
9. B. Sahai in *Iconography of minor Hindu and Buddhist deities,* Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1975, p. 210, writes: "Next stage in the development of the Mātṛkā figures is furnished by the relief in which four of the Divine Mothers have each a child in the left arm". See also the chapter on "The old goddesses in Tantric cults" in R. N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan,* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1973 and T. A. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Madras, 1914, vol. II, Part II, p. 356-382.
   Professor Boisselier points out that the sanctuary South East of Pre Rup (961 A.D.) had, on each side of the doors and frontispieces, images in stucco of *mātṛkā* of which identifiable remains are those of Brahmāyaṇī in the North-East and Vārāhī in the South-West; this seems to be the only example from Cambodia.

10. P. Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India,* no. 10 (1967) mentioned a manuscript of Devī Māhātmyā (XV) where Mahālaksmī is represented: "The two covers are illuminated with the images of Śiva dancing on the bull, Mahishasuramaridini, Kālī, the Seven Mātṛkās, Mahālaksmī and Gaṇeśa. With two of her hands, each goddess displays the *vyākhyāna-mudrā* and holds a skull-cup. The remaining hands exhibit attributes peculiar to the particular form of the Devī. Each is seated on her respective mount" (p. 5). For the cult of Mahālakṣmī in India, see R. N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, p. 137-141.

11. N. Gutschow and B. Kōlver, *Bhaktapur. Ordered Space, Concepts and functions in a town of Nepal,* Kommissions Verlag Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1975. p. 44: "Between Dasaiṃ and May, before the monsoon, the *gāthā* (woodcutters) impersonating the Navadurgā, perform dances, part of which is the playful attempt to catch children: hence the name of the rite. They dance in altogether forty places, twenty-one of which are located within the precincts of Bhaktapur proper, while nineteen others lie in villages or little towns which belonged to the Kingdom of Bhatgaon during the 16th century. The ninth place within the Bhaktapur series is in front of the big Bhairavnāth temple in Taumadhi Square: the twelfth is on Gahhiti."
S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 377: the list given by the author does not correspond to that of the Nava Durgā of Bhaktapur.

12. The residential lay-out of the castes within the town is connected with their position in the social hierarchy. Even today the Untouchables remain outside the limits of the town at Patan as well as Bhaktapur. The Kusle are former Yogi who carry out certain funerary rites. G. Singh Nepali, *The Newars. An Ethno-Sociological Study of a Himalayan Community.* Bombay, United Asia Publications, 1965, writes about the *pīṭh* attendants (*dyo pālā*): "A very important fact to note in connection with these malignant female deities of the lower order is that their *deva pālas* are invariably drawn from the untouchable caste such as Pore, Kusle, Kasai, and Chyame, who are entitled to touch these deities. During the annual festivals, however, the Vanra priest or an Achaju or Joshi may perform the priestly functions". (p. 311)

13. B. Kōlver, 'A Ritual Map from Nepal' in *Folia Rara,* F. Steiner, 1976, p. 68-80.

14. P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra. Their interrelation and their significance for Indian archeology.* The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1966, See the chapter: "The sacred cemeteries of Nepal", p. 76-101. On p. 77, the author writes: "It may seem rather unexpected that a cemetery should play the part of a sacred ground. But in Tantrism such regions are *par excellence* the places where the highest ritual initiations in the esoteric doctrine are carried out".

15. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīthas,* 2nd edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1973, p. 3.

16. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and 7.

17. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 376: "Under the name of Guhyeśvarī, Our Lady of the Secret, she is the ancient patroness of Nepal. Mañjuśrī discovered her and venerated her, hidden in the root of the lotus which bore Svayambhunāth, yet manifest in the limpid spring coming out of the ground . . . The Brahmins, who do not admit the story about Mañjuśrī, have nevertheless a reason for worshipping the goddess at the same place. When Devī, in a previous existence, was the daughter of Dakṣa, her father slighted shamefully Śiva, her husband; the goddess, offended in her love and her dignity, killed herself, while vowing to be re-born with better parents: she then became the daughter of Himālaya. Learning of the suicide of his beloved, Śiva abandoned his ascetic mortifications and hastened towards the funeral pyre on which Devī had voluntarily mounted, giving thus, to virtuous wives, a shining example; he picked up in his arms the half-burnt body and returned, burdened by his precious load, towards the peak of Kailasa, but the scorched limbs fell one by one along the way. The secret parts (*guhya*) of the goddess happened to fall on the bank of the Bāgmatī: the earth closed jealously over the holy relic; but a temple marks the site, and, within the sanctuary, a lotus with eight petals decorated with mystic syllables bears the emblem of a triangle which the Brahmins worship as the symbol of the generative organ, while for the Buddhists it expresses the holy Triad, the Three Jewels".

18. W. Ch. Beane, *Myth, Cult and Symbols in Śākta Hinduism,* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1977, p. 206.

19. M. Shepherd Slusser and G. Vajrācārya, Two medieval buildings: an architectural and cultural study, *Artibus Asiae,* XXXVI, 3 (1974), p. 169-218.

20. M. Slusser and G. Vajrācārya, *ibid.*, p. 172.

21. M. Shepherd Slusser and G. Vajrācārya, *ibid.*, p. 176: "Three architectural types of *sattal* may be distinguished, even though functionally they are one. These are: 1) a small, rectangular building corresponding to the common *pāṭī,* except for its additional second storey, usually laticed, frequently richer decoration, and occasional inclusion of one or more enclosed shrines 2) a medium to large, two or three storey structure each floor basically a columned *mandapa* in diminishing size and one or more of which is screened; it may be well decorated and usually incorporates a shrine 3) a medium to large, two and half storey structure of a rectangular plan, the ground floor devoted to one or more brick walled shrines surrounded by a columned porch, the intermediate half storey walled, and the top storey an open or partially open pavilion".

22. Tripurasundarī is of course well known in many districts of India and elsewhere in Nepal, for instance at Tibrikot see D. Snellgrove, *Himālayan Pilgrimage,* Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1961, p. 27-28.

23. P. H. Pott, *op. cit.*, p. 80: "Various texts mention the eight *mahāśmaśānas* in passages dealing with cosmogony. These are mentioned thus in the dPag-bSam-LJon-bZang; and the *śrīcakrasambaratantra* also considers them expressly in connexion with the Śricakra as a cosmic symbol; not only are the names of various *śmaśānas* given but various deities are also named as their inhabitants and, furthermore, various things such as trees and clouds, etc. have a place". Also M. Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'iconographie du Tantrisme bouddhique,* Paris, Maisonneuve, 1975, p. 359.

24. P. H. Pott, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

25. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 175.

26. D. Wright, *History of Nepal,* Calcutta, Susil Gupta, 1958, p. 74.

27. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 386. Also

28. H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brahmāṇa-Texte,* Göttingen, Bandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1919, p. 38.

29. A temple consecrated to Siddhilakṣmī is found at Patan; the temple is in the form of a *dyo-chē;* see the photo in *Kathmandu Valley* vol. II, p. 188. The catalogue *Nepalese Art,* Department of Archeology, Kathmandu, 1966, p. 15, states: "Historically the *Vamśavalis* were eloquent about a Kiranti dynasty as perhaps the earliest rulers of Nepal, and there are even people, composed of a section of the Limbus and Rais, who call themselves Kirantis and on a specified day, the occasion of Dewali, gather in large numbers and offer worship to their tutelary deity called Siddhi Lakṣmī in Patan".

30. G. Singh Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 299: describes the temple of Ākāś Bhairav of Kathmandu at Indra Cok: "This deity derives its name from the belief that its face is always upturned towards the sky because if its eyes were to fall on any object, that object would be destroyed at once. Ākāś Bhairava is also identified with Eklabya, the Bhilla prince mentioned in the Mahabharat . . . Another tradition refers to this deity as a Rakshasa prince who had gone to witness the battle of Mahabharat. This tradition goes on to say the Rakshasa prince was asked by Krishna on whose side he would fight. To this he replied that he would fight on the losing side. Krishna there-upon fearing that he was sure to assist the Kauravas, beheaded him with his discus, *Sudarshan cakra,* and caused his head to be thrown back to his home in the Valley of Nepal. This legend also explains the tradition of representing Bhairava in the form of its mask."

31. B. Kölver, *ibid.*, p. 71: "In theory, they might be, and indeed by some are, referred to the Bhairava of the central triangle, who is said to stand for the big Bhairavnāth temple immediately south-east of the Nyātapol Pagoda. In the present state of our knowledge, this attribution seems somewhat uncertain: I do not know of a ritual observance that would solely link the Aṣṭabhairava to the Bhairavnāth temple."

32. S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11; the goddesses Siṅghinī and Vyāghriṇī are linked with the *Mātṛkā*: on the occasion of the Nava Durgā dance, their masks are to be found in some dances performances. With reference to the *Naipalya Devata Kalyana Panchaviṃśatika,* B. H. Hodgson points out that Singhinī and Vyāghriṇī "are inferior spirits attached to the *Matrkas*", in his article 'Notices of the languages, literature and religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot', published in *Asiatic Researches* XVI, (1828) p. 465. He gives an interesting drawing on page 464 of Vajra Yoginī between Siṅghinī and Vyāghriṇī. The drawing of the two goddesses corresponds closely to the statues that one can see today in front of Nyātapola.

33. M. Shepherd Slusser and G. Vajracarya, *ibid.*, p. 212 - 216, give a good historical description of Dattatreya temple which was originally a *sattal* for Śaiva ascetics. However they say nothing about the two wrestler-guardians at the entrance; the fact that they occupy this position today does not of course mean that they are contemporary with the foundation of the temple.

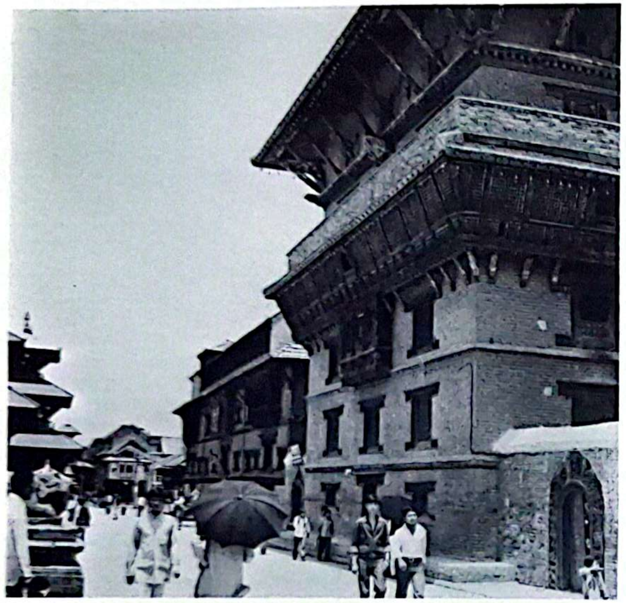
34. A. P. Karmakar, *The Religions of India.* vol. I, Lonvala, Mira Publishing House, 1950, p. 212. W. C. Beane, *op. cit.*, suggests that "the affinality of such creatures with the realm of Durgā-Kālī as the Earth-Goddess meant a religious orientation of persons to a divinity who demanded such animals as votive offerings for the welfare of her subjects" (p. 54).

II. *Paṭa* representing king Pratāpa Malla (1641-1674) weighing his son against silver in front of the Taleju temple in 1664 A.D. at Kathmandu. The painting is exceptional in its portrayal of court life and an historical event. Height 1.70m. Width 1.20m.

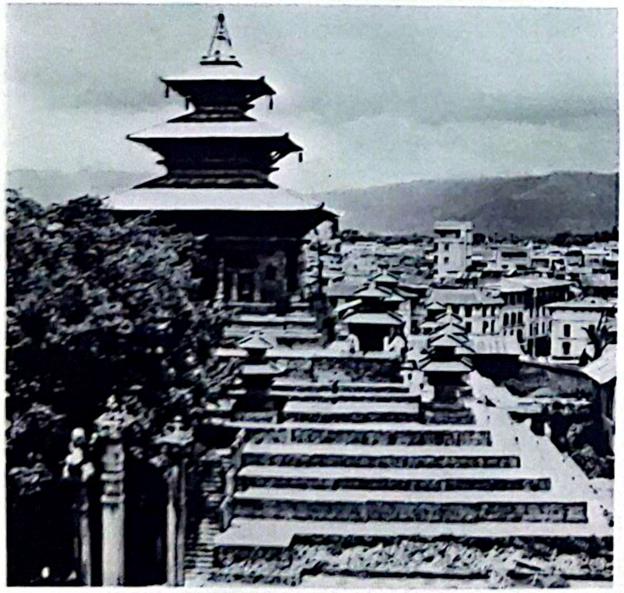
Palaces

Kings too had their royal houses in the three cities. These were naturally more considerable edifices than those of their subjects, for they were not only family homes but also seats of government. It was from them that royal power radiated. They were not, however, massive, pretentious buildings very different in style and in construction from the houses of the common people, as might be expected from the palaces of the Maharajas in certain parts of India. Such florid, sprawling imitations of what was imagined to be European or Moghul good taste were only introduced to Nepal during the Rana period, that is to say during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth. We can gain an idea of what Malla palaces must have been like to live in from about the mid-seventeenth century onwards. They seem to have been situated close to the crossing of the main trade-routes, and very roughly in the centre of the towns. The *layakus,* as these palaces are called in Newari, were not single buildings but complexes of buildings which enclosed series of central courtyards. While the cities in which they were situated were protected ritually rather than militarily by a surrounding wall, the palaces themselves do not seem to have been protected in this manner. They stood alongside open squares - plazzas would perhaps be a better word - which were also thoroughfares and it was the outer walls of the royal buildings which hid the courts within from the public gaze. Not only courtyards but gardens and temples were within the walls.

If we begin with Kathmandu and what is known as the Vasantapur Darbar,[1] no building there dates from before the Malla period (1200-1769). The main entrance to the Darbar is, and probably always was, for security reasons, narrow. The image of Hanuman, the monkey-patron of the Mallas, still stands at the entrance of the Darbar to protect the inmates from inamical incursions. This is not surprising when one remembers that the Mallas claimed to descend from Rām Candra whose devotion to Hanuman was legendary;[2] Hanuman's image was also on the flag of the Malla kings and his name figured in the litany of their official titles. His image is clothed in red and is surmounted by a golden umbrella, placed over him by Pratāp Malla in 1672. The protection of the main entrance to the palace complex is further assured by stone images of a lion and a lioness: Śiva is mounted on the lion and his Śakti mounts the lioness. Above the golden door, which was made in 1810, is a triptich which dates from the time of Pratāp Malla. In its centre is Kṛṣṇa Viśvarupa. To the left, we see Kṛṣṇa again, this time between his favorite *gopinis*, Rukminī and Satya Bhama;[3] and to the right, Pratāp Malla and his queen. The door gives access to Nasal cok. *Cok* means courtyard - the word derives from sanskrit *catuska* meaning a square - and the original Malla Darbar at Kathmandu was apparently composed of only two *coks* one of which, the Mohan cok, was reserved to the sovereign and his family. It was in Nasal cok that royal-command theatrical and dance performances were held.[4] On the eastern side of the courtyard is the shrine of Nasaleṣor, the Lord of the Dance, Śiva. Immediately on the left of the entrance to the courtyard is a doorway leading to the private quarters of the Malla kings. The doorway is flanked by images of Jaya and Vijaya which the members of the family invoked for success whenever they left the palace. Further along, beyond the doorway, is a stone image of Narasiṃha,[5] erected by Pratāp Malla in 1673 in a gesture of appeasement for having danced publicly in the god's costume and thus incurred his wrath. Beyond Narasiṃha is the Gaddi Baithak,[6] where the kings held audience. It is a verandah-like room, open towards the south and contains a plain throne. It is in the centre of Nasal cok that the royal throne is placed nowadays on a simple platform on the occasion of royal coronations. Apart from the reigning sovereign, the only other personage who takes his seat on this throne is Indra, the god whose image is brought every year at the time of



89. Royal palace at Mangal Bazaar, Patan.



90. Temple of Taleju Bhavani within Hanuman Dhoka Palace complex, Kathmandu. Constructed 1576 by Mahendra Malla. See plate II.

the Indra jātrā from its residence in Degutaleju Mandir (also within the palace complex) and placed here. The family shrine, the Āgam chē of the Malla kings, is situated in a tower in the north-west corner of the cok. Only members of the Malla family were allowed to enter it. Facing the Āgam chē is the five-roofed temple of Hanuman Pañca Mukhi[7] which dates from the mid-seventeenth century.

Mohan cok is to the north of Nasal cok. It was built by Pratāp Malla. The buildings surrounding the cok were the royal quarters and any prince born outside Mohan cok was not considered eligible for the throne, a factor which handicapped the career of the last of the Mallas, Jaya Prakās. In this courtyard is situated the Sun dhara, the golden water-point. It is situated twelve feet below the level of the courtyard, and steps lead down to it. The walls surrounding the *dhara* bear thirty-six images of gods and goddesses. Bhagirath, who brought the Ganges to earth, is sculptured close by the spout. **4**
Each morning the king bathed here, before making his devotions.

Mul cok, as its name implies,[8] was the principal courtyard. It was the scene and the stage for royal weddings, for the investiture of the chief ministers and the crown prince, as well as of royal coronations. It was built by Mahendra Malla in 1564 and re-built in 1709 by Bhāskara Malla, who gave it its present form. It is a square courtyard surrounded by two-storeyed buildings. On three sides of the ground-floor are open verandahs, while on the south side is the smaller Taleju temple, Degu Taleju, built by Śiva Singh Malla (1578-1620). It is 93 ft. in height, and the roof-struts are decorated with motifs of Śiva and Parvatī. The lower part of the building, below the terrace from which rises the temple with its three-tiered roof, is composed of ordinary living-quarters. On the top of the roof are five spires, one in the centre and one at each of the four corners. In April and May many Newars come to make their homage here. In the centre of Mul cok is a post where animals are sacrificed at Dasāĩ and Cait Dasāĩ to the Devī, and many of the struts surrounding the courtyard represent the Devī. At the times of these festivals the image of the Devī is brought from the bigger Taleju maṇḍir and placed in the small maṇḍir. Ganga and Jamuna are represented on either side of the temple entrance.[9] The big Taleju Maṇḍir is situated in Trisul cok, and is 120 ft. high. It is composed of a twelve-stepped pyramid, on the eighth step of which is a broad platform on which there is an enclosing wall. Outside the wall stand twelve small temples with two-tiered roofs; and inside the wall on the same platform there are four other small temples, each located in one of the corners. Four gates, one on either side, lead through the wall, the main gate being to the south. It too is guarded by stone images of men and beasts. Bells erected by Pratāp Malla in 1654 and Bhāskara Malla in 1714 are situated on either side of the entrance to the temple itself, and these are rung only when Taleju is worshipped. It would seem that the worship of Taleju in Nepal was inaugurated by Hari Siṃha Deva when it was introduced along with refugees from Simraungarh in the Tarai. When the kingdoms of the valley were split in three after 1482, each separate branch built a shrine to Taleju. Taleju was the tutelary deity of all the Malla Kings and the Shāh Kings from Gorkha hastened to adopt him as their own when they arrived in the capital.

In Patan, the Darbar complex is formed of three main coks. Here again, the principal one is the **89**
Mul cok which is also the oldest of the three. It was built by Śri Nivas Malla, in 1668, and is a square courtyard surrounded by two-storeyed buildings, formerly the residential quarters of the royal family. In its centre is a small, open-sided mandir, said to have been built in 1666. The entrance to the courtyard is flanked by tall brass images of Ganga and Jamuna, and above the doorway is a gilt toraṇa representing the Aṣṭamātṛka. In the north-east angle of the cok rises the three-tiered roof of the octagonal temple tower of Taleju, built by Siddhi Narasingh Malla. During Dasāĩ, here also Taleju is worshipped and a Khaḍgajātrā (sword procession) goes out. The southern courtyard, the Sundhari cok, was also built by Śri Nivas Malla. It is smaller than the Mul Cok and surrounded by three-storeyed buildings. In the centre of this courtyard is the Tusha Hiti, the royal bath, a pool walled with stone and decorated with images of the Aṣṭamātṛka, the Eight Bhairabs, the Eight Nāgas and the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu. The water comes into it through a stone spout, covered with gilt metal and in the form of a conch shell. The entrance to this cok is protected by stone images of Hanuman, Gaṇeś and Narasiṃha. The third cok, to the north of the Mul cok is known as the Mani Kesab Nārāyaṇ cok and was built by Yog Narendra Malla in 1733-1734. Above the doorway is a toraṇa depicting Śiva and Parvatī. The Degu Tale temple at Patan was built by Narsingh Malla in 1640. It is next to the Nasal cok where, as in Kathmandu, theatrical and dance performances were held. To the east of the three courtyards extend royal gardens where flowers were grown for the cult of Taleju

91. *Divinity at the entrance of the royal palace at Patan.*

and where members of the royal family took their pleasure. A lohan hiti was built in these gardens by Siddhi Narsingh Malla in 1626, reserved for the use of the royal priests. On its walls are images of the Dvarapāla and of Viṣṇu. To the west of the courtyards there is a spacious plaza which not only serves as a thoroughfare but is also the site of four temples, two stone śikharas, an enormous bell, and several stone pillars, platforms and smaller shrines. The oldest of these structures is thought to be the Manga Hiti, which was dug first in Licchavi times. The taps of carved stone, through which water comes to it, are twelve feet below the present day street-level: its entrance is protected by two stone elephants. It is on this same plaza that are to be found such other famous buildings as the Kṛṣṇa mandir, built in 1636 by Siddhi Narsingh Malla; the Car Nārāyaṇ temple built in 1565 by Purandar Singh Malla and which houses a caturmukha linga; and the three-storeyed Bhimsen shrine, built by Śri Nivas in 1680. On this plaza too are staged various festivals such as the twelve-yearly outings of the Dīpaṅkara Buddhas, the Narasiṃha dance, the Kṛṣṇa stauri, etc.

In Bhaktapur, it would seem that the early Malla kings had their palaces and administrative centres in Tacapol tol which lies in the eastern part of the present town. [10] It is there that the Dattatreya temple stands which was built by Yakṣa Malla; the square is flanked on the south-east corner by the famous Pujahari math, one of eight priestly residences in the environs. The oldest part of the present palace complex at Bhaktapur, at Lasku dhoka, in the western part of the town, is the Mul cok which was built by the same Yakṣa Malla in 1455. Here too is situated the Taleju temple, the golden entrance gate to which was added by Ranjit Malla in 1753. It seems probable that it was during Yakṣa Malla's reign that the site of the royal palace was moved from east to west. Some researchers are troubled by the fact that it was at Tamaudhi square, some distance from the palace complex that Bhūpatīndra Malla built the massive Nyātapola temple in 1701-1702 to house his tutelary deity Siddhi Lakṣmī. On the same square stands another great temple the Kasi Viśvanāth, a **34**
three-storeyed temple dedicated to Bhairab, founded by Jagat Jyoti Malla and to which Bhupatindra Malla, the tireless builder, made additions in 1716-1717.

If we summarize the above remarks on the Malla royal palaces, we are led to conclude that in addition to residential quarters, these always comprised several interlinking courtyards: in these, royal entertainments were held, and the king held audience; he was enthroned there; and it was there, within the palace complex, that he and the members of his family bathed at special fountains and waterpoints which were always decorated with care.

While the houses in which the royal families lodged were in basic design similar to those of the other inhabitants of the kingdoms, but somewhat larger, they were in turn always dominated in height by the temples of Taleju, the sovereigns' protective divinity. Lying alongside and parallel to **14,18**
the outer walls of the palace complexes, there was always, at least in relatively modern times, a large piazza to which all the kings' subjects had access and where festivals and other state performances which were too cumbersome or otherwise disturbing to be held within the palaces, could take place. If the kings were permanently present on these plazzas it was in the form of representative statues on isolated, free-standing pillars. Gardens in all cases were situated inside the palace complexes.

Elsewhere in Indianized South East Asia, R. von Heine-Geldern and other authors have stressed the fundamental belief in the necessity of establishing a series of correspondences between the macrocosm of the ideal universe of the gods and its somewhat disorderly microcosm, the world of men. "According to this belief, humanity is constantly under the influence of forces emanating from the directions of the compass and from stars and planets. These forces may produce welfare and prosperity or work havoc, according to whether or not individuals and social groups, above all the state, succeed in bringing their lives and activities in harmony with the universe. Individuals may attain such harmony by following the indications offered by astrology, the lore of lucky and unlucky days and many other minor rules. Harmony between the empire and the universe is achieved by organizing the former as an image of the latter, as a universe on a smaller scale". [11] In this theory, the king's capital city is the magical, if not the geographical centre of his kingdom on earth. So, as the ideal macrocosm in Brahmanical and Buddhist thought was conceived of as a sacred mountain, the Meru, surrounded by a series of concentric zones, many South East Asian kings tried to reproduce this schema in their capitals and chose some natural hillock as the central mountain while, in later times, a temple, an artificial mountain assumed this pivotal role. Countries such as ancient

Cambodia provide us with remarkably worked out, artistic and architectural representations of these ideas. However in Nepal they do not seem to have received similar elaboration. Certainly the royal palaces were instruments of government and built for governing. The kings of Patan, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur all used titles which stressed the divine aspect of their function, such as *Nepāleśvara,* the Lord of Nepal, *Girirāja,* the Lord of the Mountain, *Rājendra,* the Indra among kings; they presented themselves before their peoples as incarnations of the lord Viṣṇu, as overlords of the *Nepālamaṇḍala,* the domaine of Nepal, or as *Nepālacakravarti,* absolute sovereigns of Nepal. Such titles were used by kings of the three cities. They do not seem to have been discriminating in their support of Buddhist and Śaivite foundations when they were themselves worshippers of Viṣṇu; and, irrespective of which capital they reigned from, they claimed to rule Nepal. We should not seek to connect the titles themselves, in isolation from their context, with those of other rulers of South East Asia who called themselves *Girirāj.* The rulers of our three cities were locally powerful, and if they had contacts with their neighbours on all sides, they ruled in a small world, small kingdoms in no way comparable to the great kingdoms of India and Greater India. So their palaces were relatively modest buildings compared to those of some of their South East Asian contemporaries, which in the conditions in which we can accede today to their study, after earthquakes, fire and the ravages of time and battles, leave us with the impression that they represent at the most attempts at bricolage of divine models.

While we have emphasized the clustering together of the Newar community, the large amount of public space which is at the disposal of all levels of the society should not be forgotten. In the streets themselves, in the squares and plazas, in the areas surrounding temples, are open spaces which can be used for drying foodstuffs, for drying yarn which has been dyed and for many other purposes. The streets are not yet encumbered by motor vehicles and the individual Newar has at his disposal space which costs him nothing and which he can exploit for those chores which he cannot accomplish within the limits of his dwelling. These public spaces were originally conceived and maintained by the sovereign of the three cities. Their upkeep was financed by the courts. They were cleaned by the Poḍe whose duty it was to do so. Now that the caste system is breaking up and the individual is inclined to do only work for which he is paid in cash, the rubbish in such areas accumulates and these public spaces tend to deteriorate. In a haphazard way some such areas may be conserved for the tourist industry; but in such cases the Newars who live in the surrounding area may no longer have full access to these areas which, when spruced up for foreign photographers, no longer play the same functional role in the local society. In many such spaces were public fountains, water-points and bathing places. It is the relatively rich who today can afford to have tap-water installed in their own houses; so today those whom one sees at such public places for washing, drawing water, and laundering tend to be the poorer elements of society. To construct a public water-point was previously a public service at the same time as it was a source of private merit for the patron or the builder. It was a worthy undertaking similar to the construction of a rest-house for pilgrims, a cautara on which travellers could depose their loads, or the planting of shade-giving trees along the trade-routes. Public space on the banks of rivers was used for constructing *ghāṭs.* These consisted of flights of steps leading down from the banks into and under the waters of a river. Those on the banks of rivers like the Bāgmatī and the Viṣṇumatī served a double purpose: the dead were placed on platforms close to the waters' edge, they were and are incinerated on such platforms and their ashes cast into the running water; the same *ghāṭs* help bathers to keep their footing when they perform their ablutions in the river itself. There is very little difference, except in scale between the Nepalese *ghāṭs* and those of an Indian city such as Benares. Frequently the *ghāṭs* are situated alongside a temple, a rest-house or a *vihāra* and at Paśupatināth, for example, many important stone sculptures are situated on the level of the topmost flight of the *ghāṭs* steps. Water tanks, usually rectangular rather than round are also used for bathing but generally serve as urban reservoirs.

Notes

1. The word *darbar* in Nepali means "court" or "palace" and is a loan-word from Persian. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell include a notice on *durbar* in *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases,* London, John Murray, 1903, p. 331.
2. Gautam Vajra Vajracharya, *An Introduction to Hanuman Dhoka,* Kirtipur, 1975, p. 15.
3. On Rukminī, Kṛṣṇa's first queen, and on Satya Bhama, see W. G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry,* London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1957, p. 55-60.
4. Thanks to the description left by a Capuchin Father who passed through Nepal on his way to Tibet in the first half of the eighteenth century we know something of the celebrations which he observed there on the occasion of the Indrajātrā (Alberto Magnaghi, Relazione Inedita di un Viaggio del Padre Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata (Prima meta del Secolo XVIII) in *Rivista Geografica Italiana,* 8, December, 1901, p. 621 et seq.). "The people of the country" he writes, "have the custom, at their festivals, of representing a story drawn from one of their sacred books or a satirical comedy in which they deride the habits of a certain person. These plays are shown on one of the public squares: to do so platforms, twenty feet square and three feet high, have been erected. The spectators settle themselves down on mats that they spread out on the bare ground of the squares and streets. They have neither theatre nor stage sets: but if the play is supposed to take place near a river they stretch out on the platform, where the actors play, a cloth on which a river is painted; if it takes place inside a barcareccia, a few people hold in their hands four or six branches of some tree; if it takes place in a temple, a statue is placed in the centre; and they do likewise for changing scenes. The actors of these comedies have very little recitativo and much action, so that the principal actor does not recite eight or ten phrases in the different scenes in a comedy lasting two or three hours; but it is the choruses, which sing the whole, as in the Greek comedies. In each comedy, the Nepalese have at least two choruses, and the third is formed by the full chorus - that is to say by the two choruses together. For instance the actor expresses the extreme sadness of his plight in two or three verses which he recites. The choruses in alternation sing mournfully of the bitterness of his sorrow, the diverse passions occasioned in the person's heart by that sorrow such as hope, forlornness, fear, daring and likewise for all the other passions. And at the same time as the chorus is singing, the actor, who dances constantly, fits the movements of his face, his feet and his hands to the meaning of the words they are singing. The orchestra for these comedies is composed of a few small drums, of trumpets and of an instrument formed by two small cymbals which are struck one against the other, according to the note they emit, and in each comedy there are at least eight pairs of these instruments which, when well struck, provide a harmonious chime: four trumpets and three drums make up the orchestra. The lead is given by the drum, and it is beaten with the hands". Norvin Hein, *The Miracle Plays of Mathurā,* New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1972, p. 123-24 and note 40, draws attention to the fact that the distribution of roles in these performances approximated to that in the ballad-like *khyāls* of Rajasthan referred to by John Robson in *A Selection of Khyals or Marwari Plays,* Beawar, 1866, p. vi. Hein is convinced that these Nepalese court plays were "in the essentials of their technique . . . a part of an old and pervasive type which was to be found from Kathmandu to Cape Comorin. Even after four hundred years of Muslim rule, the type was still cultivated on all sides of the northern region of heavy Muslim penetration . . . remnants of this theatrical tradition were probably surviving in the Ganges valley itself in the sixteenth century. The *Rāmlīlā* arose in living contact with this dance drama, and there is no chronological or geographical difficulty in supposing a genetic relationship between them". However it should be remembered that the Nepalese government at some stages excluded the *rāsmaṇḍalīs* from its territory during their observances of the *banjātrās.*
5. The literal meaning of the name of this incarnation of Viṣṇu is 'man-lion'. For a photograph of an image of Nara-siṃha at Patan, see S. Lévi, *Le Népal,* vol. II, p. 245.
6. *Gaddi* in Nepali means "throne" or "cushion"; *baithak* means "audience hall" or "reception room".
7. This means 'Hanuman of the Five Faces'. See Gautam Vajra Vajracharya, *op. cit.,* p. 21.
8. *Mul* in Nepali means "root, chief, principal, main".
9. On these river-divinities in India, see Odette Viennot, *Les divinites fluviales Ganga et Yamuna aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde*; Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et Documents d'Art et d'Archéologie tome X, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.
10. See N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *Ordered Space, Concepts and Functions in a town of Nepal,* Wiesbaden, Kommissionsverlag, Franz Steiner GMBH, 1975, p. 16-18.
11. R. Heine Geldern, 'Conceptions of State and Kingship in South East Asia' in *The Far Eastern Quarterly,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1942, vol. II, no. I, p. 15-30. The quotation is from p. 15. For reference to more recent work in this field, see the chapter on 'The Galactic Polity' in S. J. Tambiah *World Conqueror and World Renouncer,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 15, Cambridge, 1976, p. 102-131.

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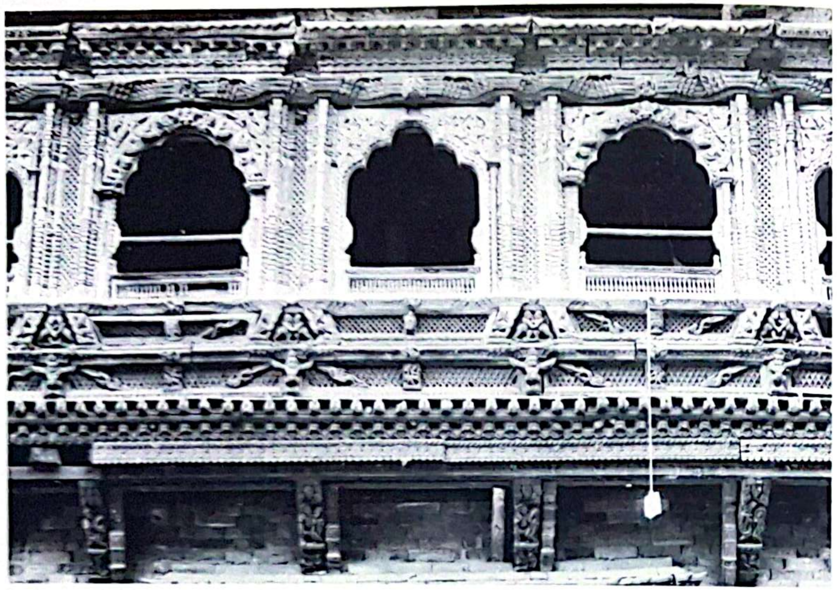
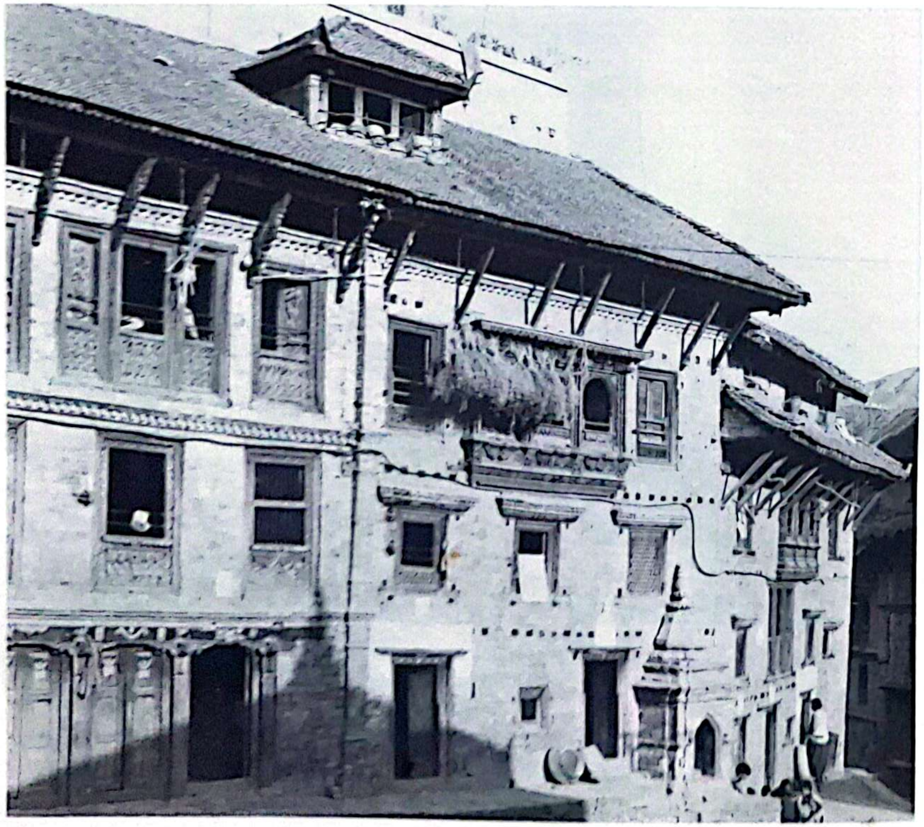


92 *Details of woodwork on windows of Newar houses.*



93. *Street-side façade of Newar houses at Bhaktapur.*

The Newar House

The typical Newar domestic house is made of brick, and lies alongside a street which is itself paved with stones and bricks. Its base is rectangular and its outer walls are 15 to 18 inches thick. Houses are huddled together, indeed their end-walls are often linked or shared, so as to conserve the maximum amount of farmland. Another reason for the existence of this compact type of settlement, where growth can be said to occur vertically, is that, in the past, closely-grouped habitations were easier to defend against military incursions than scattered, widespread dwellings. Patan and Bhaktapur, as well as Kirtipur and Kathmandu were previously walled towns. The Newar house often forms part of a four-sided complex enclosing a central courtyard. And even when the courtyard is adjacent to the side or back of a single house it will probably take the form of a walled-in garden. Newar houses are in no way linked with or open to the fields, which lie outside the village settlements.[1] This gives a distinctly urban character to Newar habitations. Even when separate buildings exist which are smaller and separated from the main house, these will usually be used for storage, although they may occasionally be used as servants' quarters. Houses being closely packed together occlude the light from one another; and as there is often no opening in the back wall, furthest from the street, the inside of a Newar house is dark and cool.

The ground-floor, which is too cold for human habitation and too damp for the storage of food-stuffs, will be used for storing wood, farm implements and tools, livestock and manure. Sometimes, on the street-side, which we shall call the front, there is a broad opening in the supporting-wall which serves as a shop. The shop area will be shut off from the street at night-time by solid wooden doors and shutters. The pillars and posts of such shops are carved with designs similar to those to be found on temple-fronts. The entrance to the house itself is usually a double-door which will be closed with a heavy padlock during the prolonged absence of the owner; but it will often remain unlocked during the day-time. On the door-panels, a pair of eyes will often be painted: these are auspicious signs, destined to protect the house against evil influences, as are the other symbols - the *Kalas,* etc. - which are frequently painted on the lintel and the side-pillars of the door-way. The lintel of the door is low and one stoops to enter. On either side of the door-way are often painted or pasted the image of a *Nāg*: the house itself is centered above the head of this protective serpent deity whose image will be renewed each year - there is a flourishing commerce of such images at the time of the *Nāg Pañcami* festival when each house is decorated and protected in this manner.[2] Once through the door-way, one will often find a rice-pounder (*kuti*), along with other domestic implements close to the steep and narrow wooden stair-case or ladder which leads to the upper floors. Very often a central wall divides the house into two halves called *hal.*

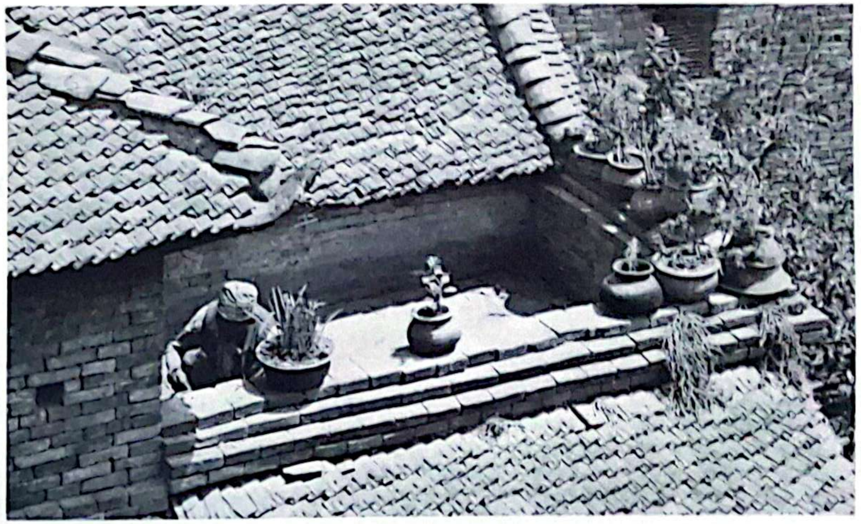
On the first-floor is the *nal.* This serves as a sitting-room as well as a bed-room. For sleeping, padded mattresses, which are rolled up in the daytime to gain floor-space, and stored in recesses in the walls, are spread out on the floor. On top of these are laid quilts, cushions and pillows. Small children sleep with their parents in this room. Sometimes there are two such rooms separated by a central stair-case. Crockery, clothes and other domestic items are often stored in the *nal* in a large wooden chest, given to a bride as part of her dowry. Western-type furniture may be seen in such rooms but this is rare, although there may be one or two low tables. On the walls there are sure to be a few lithographs depicting figures of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons; and in practically every house there will be coloured reproductions of photographs of His Majesty and other members of the royal family. On this first floor, there are generally balcony windows which provide light as well as ventilation. In the case of a big house, there is often a room on the second floor which is not only a gathering room for the family but also serves for entertaining guests. It is in this room that one is most likely to find Western-type chairs. Rice-containers, called *bhakari,* which are large drum-like bins whose moveable walls are made of basket-work, are also to be found on the upper floors, along with spinning-wheels, hand-looms and other items. The kitchen will usually be situated on the second or third floor. Cooking and eating are very private Newar activities; and strict caste-rules determine the handling, cooking, serving and eating of meals. Outsiders to the household will not normally enter the kitchen itself. There is usually no chimney to allow the smoke from the wood-fire used for cooking to escape; but there may be a hole by which the smoke can escape and this hole will be fitted with some sort of cover to keep heavy rain from entering the kitchen during the monsoon season. The family shrine is usually situated on the top floor. This will be a simple, small, undecorated, dark room, the *āgama* of the family. The door of an *āgama* is usually covered with a painted cloth or the wood of the door itself has painted on it an auspicious pair of eyes such as are also to be found on the entrance-doors of private houses or on the faces of the *harmika* above the bodies of the Buddhist *stūpas.*

We have already mentioned the thickness of the house-walls. These have to be thick and strong, not only as a protection against earth tremors but also to support the roof, which is very heavy. The roofs are set at an angle of 30° or 40°. While practically no snow falls in the valley, the rains are heavy and may continue to fall relentlessly for several days without letting up. The overhang of the roof, which is supported by sloped wooden struts as well as horizontal beams, not only provides cool shade in the hot weather but also protects the mass of the house itself from rain. In constructing the roof, the beams and rafters are covered with a layer of thin narrow wooden planks. Mud is then spread over these and the interlocking baked tiles are then laid on this base. The weight of the roof is supported primarily by the central of three parallel walls, the other two being those which constitute the front and the back of the house. The side or end-walls are less thick but they also serve to support the load of the roof.

The very presence of the massive, tiled, sloping roofs on Newar houses has drawn attention aside from the small flat terraces, generally enclosed by a low brick wall, and open to the sky, which are to be found at the tops of many Newar dwellings, in those of the modest farmer as in those of kings. This airy, square or rectangular space is used for many purposes. The early-morning *pūjā* as well as the evening rites are generally accomplished there. It is close to the kitchen and often adjacent to the room where the house-family worships its divinities. It is always kept clean and tidy and is often decorated with flowers; and a fine view of the surrounding area can be had from there. The family has more privacy there than in any other part of the house: the ground-level courtyard is something of a thoroughfare when it does not serve as a latrine, and the sun strikes the terrace much more directly than the courtyard which is surrounded by high house-walls which block the sun's rays. So people often gather on the terrace, before and after the day's work to indulge in the sun's warmth.

In domestic architecture, we can distinguish the social differences separating those who inhabit particular houses. Architectural difference translate social distinctions. Previously, regulations were enforced on the low caste Newar Poḍe to make their houses of one storey only; the houses were to be built of unburnt brick and their roofs had to be thatched. Nowadays one may find Poḍe houses with two storeys and with tiled roofs for these regulations are no longer enforced; but one is still struck by the difference between these houses, detached from one another and with verandahs which recall the Pahari type of dwelling, and the tall, three-storeyed houses of the Newar higher castes. Let us note also that these hierarchised spatial segments of Bhaktapur's population are located also in a vertical series which descends, from the mound on which the palace is situated, to the bottom of the mound close to the river where the Poḍes live.[3]

If we seek to distinguish Newar houses from those of the Parbatiyā, the former are characterised by the absence of the ground-floor verandah, the *pindi,* which is so characteristic of the architecture of the house of the Khas farmer. The height of Newar houses is greater, as has been noted earlier, and the Khas do not link their houses together as do the Newars. If, on the other hand, we compare Newar to Tibetan houses, we see that in the latter, the hearth serves as a regular meeting place for the house family and passing travellers. In Parbatiyā style houses in Nepal this is also the case, and the inmates will often sleep together close to the hearth, on straw-mats spread on the floor. This is never so in a Newar house.



94. Roof-terraces on Newar houses in Bhaktapur.

95. The potters' square in Bhaktapur.

This is not an ethnographic study, but before closing this short section on the Newar house we should stress that for the Newars, as for many other peoples in the world, rituals accompany the building of a house. Just as certain rites punctuate the Newar life-cycle to shape individual lives into a common pattern, so too do ritual ceremonies support the physical construction of a domestic dwelling. The earth is considered to be wounded by the builders so its spirits must be propitiated. Once the site has been chosen, a goat will be sacrificed on an auspicious day. When the first foundation-stone is laid, a duck egg, a coconut, five betel nuts and a yard of cloth will be offered. The head house-builder will put five brass receptacles and a silver tortoise inside the foundation-site and five bricks above the pots. Vegetable products will be offered to the spirits of the site and scattered over its four corners.

Once the ground-floor has been completed, the main doorway is honoured: another goat is sacrificed and the carpenters are worshipped by their leaders. Particular parts of the goat's head are then consumed by the builders, the future house-owner and the carpenters, these being distributed and eaten according to the hierarchical and occupational status of those concerned. As each floor is completed, a further goat-sacrifice takes place. The pillars that support the ceiling (*tham*), the floor (*dalin*) and the beams (*neena*) are honoured. It is when the roof is finished that the house is said to be born. Just as in the birth purification ceremony for children, offerings are then made of ginger, *imu* seeds and salt. When the roof-tiles are laid, a final ceremony brings together the male members of the house-builder's lineage, his married daughters and their children. A large feast is offered, accompanied as usual by much rice beer; and the married daughters tie new *saris* to the house to mark its completion. After the feast, the *gṛhapati* is offered a turban and each married daughter receives a blouse from her mother.

This apparent digression into ritual sequences suddenly brings us back to the heart of our subject with the ceremony which occurs once the house is ready to be occupied. G. S. Nepali describes it thus: "The *Bau Biye-gu* ceremony is performed with a view to pacifying the nine *grahas*. For this purpose, nine earthen dishes, each containing *Choka bajee, Ka, Thaku-musya, urud* pulse, dried garlic and *Chhyapi,* a piece of buffalo's lungs and bamboo twigs are worshipped, and a goat is sacrificed. The largest of these dishes is believed to symbolise Bhairava, and the rest the Aṣṭamātṛkās. The worship being over, these pots are later placed at the nine cross-roads of the locality."[4] The significance of this ceremony is clear: it shows us that in the construction of a house is manifest the same conception of the regents of space as that which we saw above in the spatial organisation of Bhaktapur's protective deities. House-space and town-space are envisaged in the same terms. One is smaller than the other: both have the same structure. We might add that the rituals accompanying the construction of a temple are quite similar to those executed in building a house. The pinnacle of the roof will, in both cases, be installed ritually. On a house this may take the temporary form of an umbrella or a miniature paper parasol: it may even take the permanent form of a miniature *stūpa*.

Notes

1. There are plans and drawings of Newar houses in Fran P. Hosken, *The Kathmandu Valley Towns,* New York, Weatherhill, 1974, p. 314-321; and in W. Korn, *The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley,* Kathmandu, 1976, p. 18-22.
2. There is a widespread belief among Hindus that the foundation of a dwelling should be adjusted so that the foundation-stone lies directly above the head of the serpent, the *Vāstunāga,* which sustains the world. See S. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born,* New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971, p. 354 and M. Eliade, 'Centre du Monde, Temple, Maison' in *Le symbolisme cosmique des monuments religieux,* Serie Orientale Roma XIV, Rome, 1957, p. 66-67. While such beliefs undoubtedly exist among the Newars, they are not always formulated clearly.
3. This point is well made in N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *Bhaktapur, Ordered Space,* Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 48.
4. G. S. Nepali, *The Newars,* p. 62.

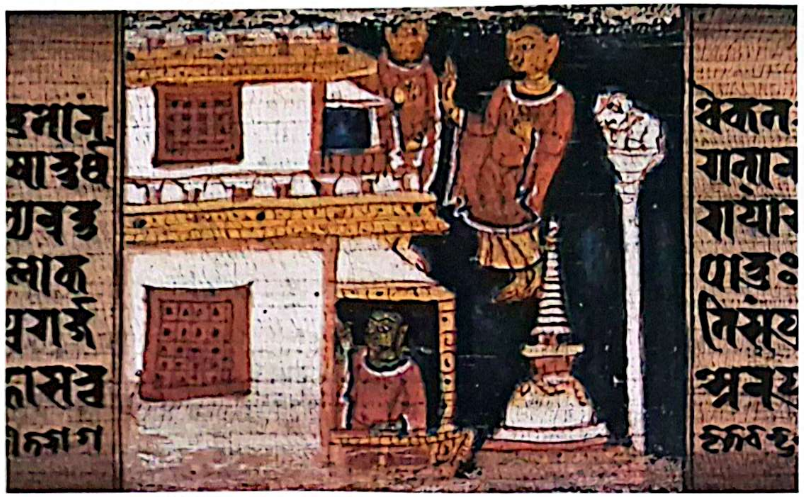
Illuminated Manuscripts

The earliest extant material available for the study of Newar painting date from the eleventh century A.D. These are miniatures and painted book-covers. The manuscripts on which the miniatures are painted were prepared in Buddhist monasteries of Eastern India or Nepal by monks or professional painters. At this period we can speak of a 'monastic style'. According to Pal "it is more difficult to distinguish between the manuscript paintings of eastern India and Nepal than between the sculptures of the two areas".[1]

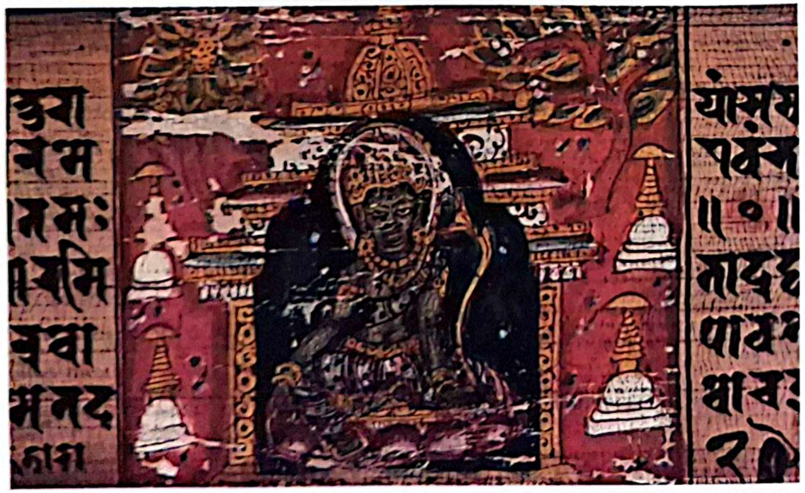
Newar manuscripts, like those of Eastern India, are written on palm leaves and kept between two flat, thin pieces of wood which serve as book-covers and which are usually painted on both 105 sides. However, as the manuscripts were treated as objects of worship the effect of devotion has often been to wear out such painting from covers. The combined effects of oil, smoke and incense-burning have effaced the paintings in most cases. When monks copied out the texts, scribes carefully left blank spaces in the centre of some of the pages and it was in these spaces that the paintings were later executed. An explanatory text is to be found alongside each miniature, written in the script of the period. If the miniature portrays a monument, its name and the geographical position are noted; if the image is of a divinity, its name and that of the locality in which the divinity was worshipped in that particular form, are noted. Most of the Newar manuscripts which have come down to us from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries are Buddhist creations; they reflect the form of Buddhism prevalent in Bengal under the Pāla dynasty (750-1150). The subject most frequently portrayed is the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The *Prajñāpāramitā* was the literature resulting from the development of the Mahayāna movement and was in the process of being formulated from about the second century B.C. "The text of *Prajñāpāramitā* explains the virtue of transcendental wisdom and is a work of pure metaphysics." A list of Newari and Bengali manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* has been given by H. J. Stooke.[2]

Up till now the earliest known Newari manuscript is that of Cambridge University Library catalogued under the number 1643; it is dated 1015 A.D. The manuscript is that of *Aṣṭasāhasrīkā,* that is to say the version of the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* which is in eight thousand ślokas or lines of thirty syllables; on the last leaf are written twelve stanzas of a text entitled the *Vajradhvajaparinamana.*[3] Alfred Foucher gave an admirable analysis of this manuscript and of another from Bengal and which was written in the year 191 (1070 A.D.), during the reign of Śaṅkaradeva of the Solar dynasty of Nepal, by a scribe called Kiranasiṃha in the monastery of Kisa. Foucher was the first to point out that there is no connection between the miniatures and the text.[4] The great majority of the divinities painted on the manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are not mentioned in the texts they illustrate "and a number of them were neither heard nor thought of when the book (i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā*) was originally composed, maybe between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D."[5]

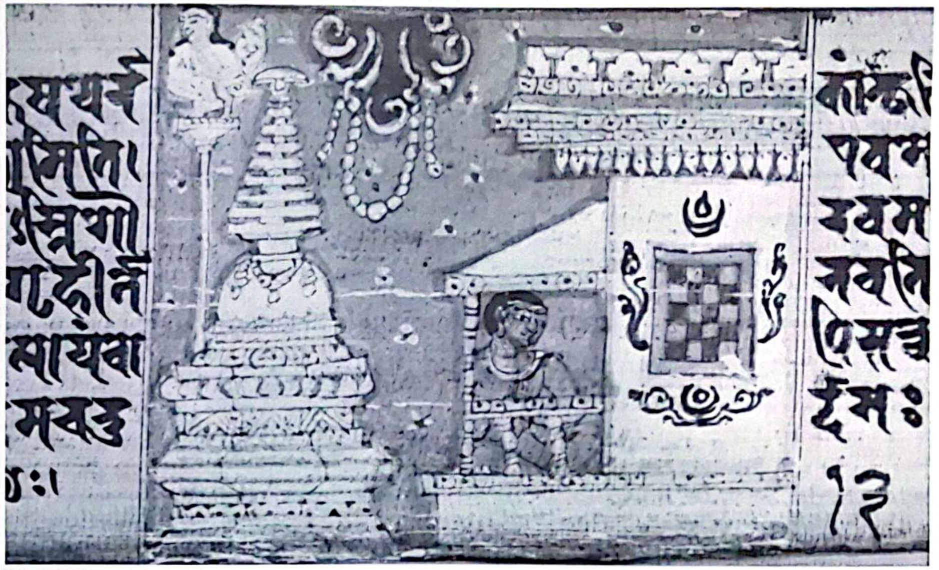
The miniatures in the two manuscripts studied by Foucher are either of religious buildings (a temple, a *stūpa,* a monastery) or divinities (Śākyamuni, the Buddha Dipaṅkara, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi and Jambhala). Foucher sought to identify monuments and divinities of Buddhist India with the aid of these two manuscripts. Further research remains in order to identify in these miniatures the monuments and the divinities of Nepal. For instance two miniatures, each of them representing a *vihāra,* are of particular interest for images of *vihāra* dating from this period are not known from any other source.[6] One of the monasteries is two-storeyed and the other has one storey. They are viewed as from an inner courtyard. The ressemblance



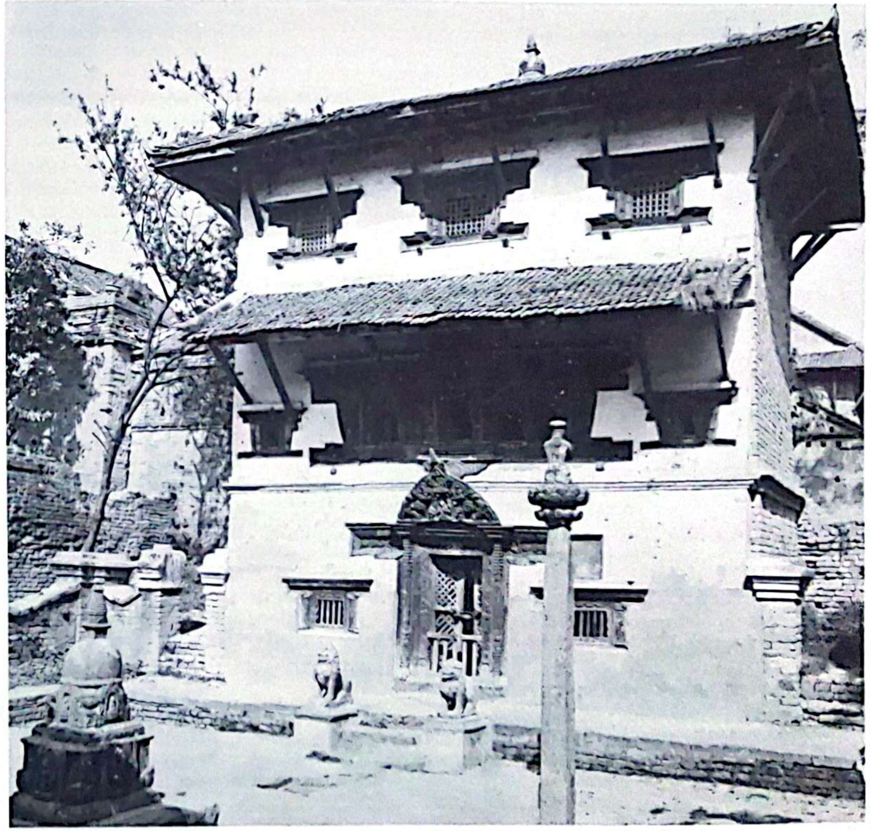
III. Representation, in a Newar manuscript dated 1015 A.D. (The University Library, Cambridge, Add. No. 1643) of a Buddhist monastery as seen from the inner courtyard. The presence of a monk stresses the Buddhist nature of the building.
(photo: Cambridge University Library)



III and IV. Newar manuscript dated 1015 A. D. with representations of a Buddhist Monastery as seen from the inner courtyard and, below, a divinity surrounded by a *caitya* (see ill. 100). Cambridge University Library, add. no. 1643.



96. Representation of vihāra *in the Cambridge manuscript no. 1643.*



97. Digu Bāhāl (Gunakirti Mahavihār) at Thimi. Constructed in the 16th century.

96 with the *vihāra* buildings which can be observed today is striking. For example in the rectangular
courtyards of the *vihāra* in Patan are to be found one or many *caitya*; and sometimes a pillar
surmounted by a mythical animal or by a statue of a benefactor stands in the courtyard not far from
the entrance.[7] To confirm this we have reproduced a photograph of the Digu-tale *vihāra* at Thimi,
97 constructed in the sixteenth century according to the inscription. The view in the photograph is
identical to that reproduced in the manuscript. In both cases the buildings portrayed are built of
bricks and wood; the window frames are of wood and there are "wooden screens of lattice work in
the old Indian fashion".

As for the technique in which the miniatures are painted, "the work is always very simple; the miniatures were first of all drawn in red ink then coloured. Often the sketch lacks neither elegance nor deftness of touch. The colouring, which is very rudimentary, is composed of the five usual colours white, blue, red, yellow and green: at the most one can distinguish two shades of red, of which one is carmine".[8] Moreover certain conventions are always observed: most backgrounds are starred with these showers of flowers of which Buddhist texts so often speak; two trees evoke a forest; criss-crossed multicoloured lines of strange shapes symbolise a mountain. Foucher observed that the most striking aspect of this art is its constant uniformity. According to S. K. Sarasvati "the *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra* of Bhojadeva, a work of the eleventh century, in chapter 71 (verses 14-15) refers, in all probability, to the different stages of the technique of pictorial art (*chitra-karma*) collectively designated as *aṅgas*. The word *aṅga* which literally means 'limb' may better be rendered in this context as "element". Such "elements" are said to be eight in number 1) *vartikā* 2) *bhūmibandhana* 3) *lekhya-(lepya)* 4) *rekhā-karmāni* 5) *varṇa-karma* (or *karsha-karma*) 6) *vartanakarma* 7) *lekhana* or *lekha-karaṇa* and 8) *dvika-karma*. In a manner they appear to be constituents of a painting in its technical aspect. They are separate and distinguished from the 'eight qualities' of painting enumerated in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, qualities that are required to be considered in the aesthetic appraisal of a finished work."[9]

M. Mookerjee has described the illustrated covers of another manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 148 N.S. (1028 A.D.) and which would therefore be the second oldest among the Newar manuscripts so far known: "this is supported by the stylistic affinities between the miniatures under reference with those of the Cambridge manuscript dated 1015 A.D. In composition, in draughtsmanship, in colour scheme, in ethnic types and in decoration, both represent an identical tradition. The covers of the present manuscript are interesting as they illustrate the tradition in a more refined form".[10]

Another very popular text in the literature of the period is the *Pañcarakṣa*, the Five Protections. These are five goddesses: Mahāmantrāmisārinī, Mahāsāhastrapramardanī, Mahāsitavatī, Mahāmāyurī and Mahāpratisara who are accompanied by the five Tathāgata (Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi).[11] We find also mural paintings in houses and *vihāra* which are based on this text and we will return later to this theme.

The style of these early Nepalese miniatures is Indian and "no particular characteristic separates the Nepalese miniatures from the Bengali miniatures of the same epoch: both are works directly inspired by Indian genius".[12] Moreover the Newar manuscripts maintain most faithfully the old tradition manifest in the Bengali miniatures which have come down to us from the eleventh century. The Newari manuscripts are dated according to the Nepalese era whereas the manuscripts from India are dated by Pāla regnal years. Stella Kramrisch, in an article published thirty years after Foucher's study (and which is the first article ever written treating Nepalese painting as a whole) made clear several points in which Newar painting differs from Bengali painting[13] and stressed the originality of the "Newar style": "These inborn Nepalese tendencies transform the Indian prototypes and pronounce them in a language which belongs to their level at this phase and down to the later part of the sixteenth century. No Tibetan, not to speak of Chinese elements are discernable".

Brahmanical manuscripts are rarer and they are later in date and the most ancient among them are not illustrated with miniature paintings; only their wooden book-covers are painted. Each wooden panel is divided into several parts according to miniature technique. M. Mookerjee has described a Śaivite manuscript dated 156 N.S. (1036 A.D.) with illuminated covers: "the style and execution of the paintings would indicate that the covers are much later than the date of the manuscript".[14] On the basis of stylistic arguments the author dates the book-covers to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. "On one cover we have the story of the *lingodbhava murti* and on the other are represented various gods worshipping the *liṅga*". Another Tantric manuscript, the *Piṅgalamata* was described by P. C. Bagchi. It is dated 294 N.S. (1174 A.D.) and was written during the reign of Rudradeva.[15] The wooden book-covers have six illustrations on each side; on the one side there is Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kartikeya with a linga in their midst; on the other side are represented the benefactors who ordered the illustrations made. The image of Gaṇeś as a scribe which has been reproduced by Alice Getty in her monograph on Gaṇeś, comes from this book-cover.[16] Other manuscripts with interesting covers are to be seen in Bhaktapur Museum and the Bir Library: these date from the thirteenth century. The style of the Brahmanical miniature is no different from that of the Buddhist miniatures, that is to say its object is primarily didactic. Pal describes a fifteenth century manuscript where "the paintings illuminated scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, Vikramāditya's *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* and the *Aśvaśātra*. A few Vaiṣṇava legends are also included and so is the Buddhist story of Sudhanakumāra and Monaharā. A number of illustrations portray a few of the sixty-four Siddhas. Some other illustrations appear to be of a secular character, which goes to show that although the artist chose his subject matter from both Brahmanical and Buddhist sources, the paintings are not of a sectarian character. It is indeed an anthology of pictures, a genuine *kalāpustaka*, made both for the edification and delectation of the patron. Such a strange medley of Brahmanical and Buddhist legends in the same document is not commonly found even in Nepal, where the line of distinction between them is indeed very thin".[17]

Illustrated manuscripts are to be found until as late as the nineteenth century, but the quality of drawing and the use of colour in the seventeenth and eighteenth century miniatures are far inferior to those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From the fifteenth century onwards, there exist a substantial number of Brahmanical manuscripts. Among these the *Devīmāhātmya* is one of the more popular subjects treated. The *Devīmāhātmya* is a lengthy hymn, in praise of Durgā Mahiṣamardinī, which forms part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*. The title means "glorification of the Devī" and refers to the struggle against the buffalo-demon and his army. The hymn is recited during the Navaratra festival and this recitation keeps the goddess present in the temple or house in which it is chanted. Haraprasad Śastri has listed fifteen Devīmahātmya manuscripts, mostly from Nepal, the earliest of which is dated 998 A.D.[18] It should be stressed that the technique of miniature painting strongly influenced styles of painted cloth (*paubha*) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well as the art of mural painting. We shall return later to this topic.

Notes

1. P. Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum' in *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, no. 10, 1967, Bombay, p. 1.
2. 'An eleventh-century illuminated palm-leaf manuscript', in *Oriental Art*, no. 1, 1948. There is a list of dated East Indian manuscripts in the article by S. K. Sarasvati, 'East Indian Manuscript Painting' in *CHHAVI*, Golden Jubilie Volume, Barat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, 1971, p. 243-262.
3. *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des documents nouveaux*, Première Partie, Paris, E. Leroux, 1900, Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes.
4. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
5. E. Conze, 'Remarks on a Pāla Mss. in the Bodleian Library', *Oriental Art*, no. 1, 1948.
6. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and p. 55 described these miniatures. S. K. Sarasvati writes: "Important Buddhist shrines have been depicted in many of these paintings and the details preserved in these compositions . . . supply valuable data for a reconstruction of some lost types of medieval Indian architecture, especially of Eastern Indian" (*ibid.*, p. 250).
7. S. Lévi, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 14. "One of the items most widespread in Nepal, which is to be found with equal frequency in Buddhist and Śaivite temples, is the free standing pillar, rising in front of a facade: sometimes with chamfered arrises; sometimes it is planted directly in the ground sometimes it is circled by a ring at the base or borne on the back of a tortoise and it is almost always capped by a lotus in full bloom which is the capital of the columns as well as the base for an image".
8. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
9. S. K. Sarasvati, *ibid.*, p. 252.
10. M. Mookerjee, 'An illustrated book-cover of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in a private collection, in *Lalita Kala*, no. 6, October 1959, p. 53-62.
11. M. Mookerjee, 'Two illuminated manuscripts in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art', in *JISOA* XV, 1947, p. 89-99 also M.-Th. de Mallmann 'Notes d'iconographie tantrique' in *Arts Asiatiques*, 1976, t. XXXII, p. 173-181, describes two book-covers of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* where the five Tathāgata and the four great Prajñā are represented. She insists that no further mention should be made of the compound Dhyani-Buddha "invented in the nineteenth century and for the use of which there exists no justification in any old sanskrit collection" (p. 287). P. Pal in *Nepal, Where the Gods are young*, The Asia Society, 1975, describes "two covers and five folios of a *Pañcarakṣa* manuscript" (p. 44).

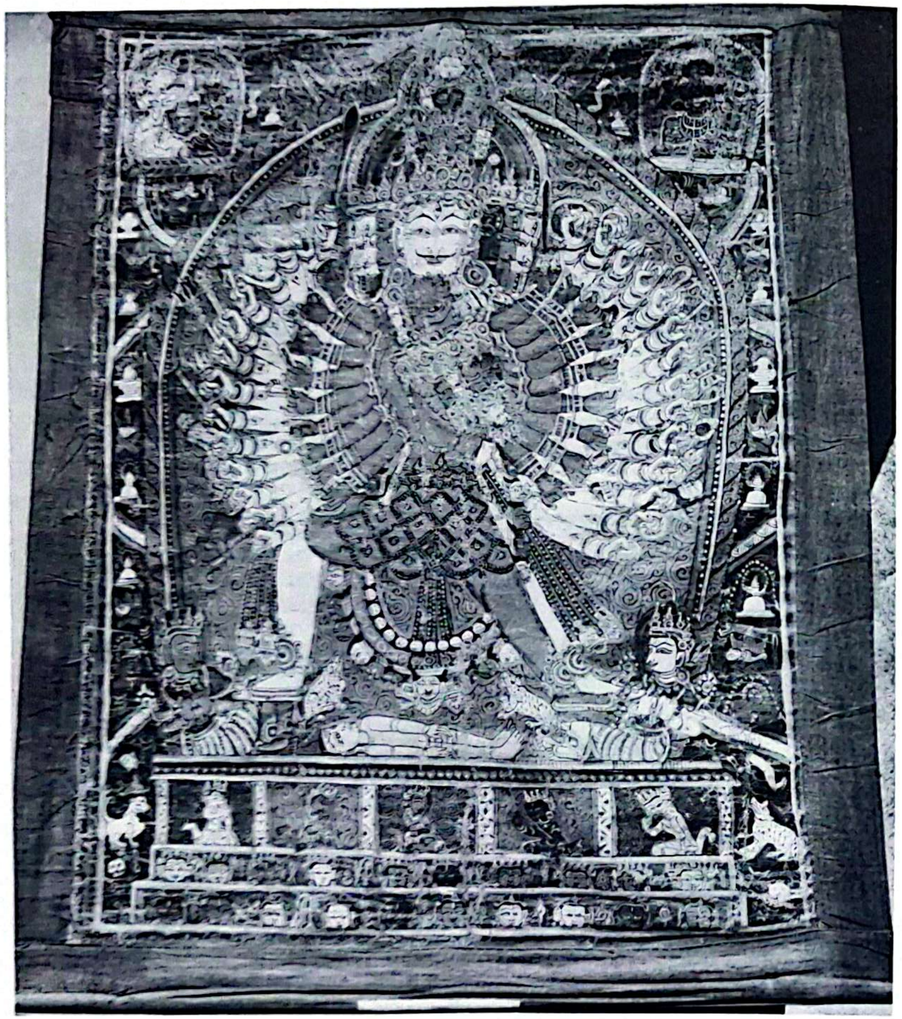
12. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
13. S. Kramrisch, 'Nepalese Paintings', *JISOA*, vol. I, no. 2 (1933), p. 129-147.
14. M. Mokerjee, 'A painted book-cover from Nepal', *JISOA*, XIV, 1946 p. 95-101.
15. P. Bagchi, Some brahmanical miniatures from Nepal, *JISOA*, 1940 "This Rudradeva is different from the king of that name mentioned before in the colophons of Cambridge; he ruled in Patan in the third quarter of the twelfth century"
16. A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa. A monography on the elephant-faced god*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971, plate I, c.
P. Pal, *ibid.*, p. 3. "The monastic style of painting is essentially linear and, particularly in the manuscript illuminations, the artist has, with a few simple lines delineated the form with remarkable liveliness and plastic quality . . . his emphasis on the linear quality has always remained an essential characteristic of both Indian and Nepali religious paintings throughout the ages. In Nepal it has sometimes acquired a calligraphic quality in its articulateness and sharpness, perhaps because the Nepali artists were more aware of Chinese traditions."
17. P. Pal, A Kālāpustaka from Nepal in *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, 1967, no. 1, p. 22-33.
18. H. Śastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected papers. Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.* Calcutta, 1905, See also M. Chandra, Two illustrated Devimāhātmya manuscripts from *Nepal, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, (Bombay), number 11(1971), p. 1-12.

Paṭa

The Newar paintings known as *paṭa* (sk.) or *paubha* (new.), (*patibāhāra,* old new.) are usually rectangular in shape. In making them, cotton cloth is always used and it is woven specially to the dimensions required for each painting. All Newar paintings are executed in gouache. It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that Newar painters began to use paper surfaces for painting.

Paṭa represent *maṇḍala,* divine figures accompanied by their attendants, or sometimes monuments. One is surprised by the variety of subjects treated in Newar painting. In earlier times, the two words *paṭa* and *maṇḍala* signified different types of composition; "In the *paṭa,* figures of divinities are preferably reproduced, while the *maṇḍala* contains images of deities or symbols, but according to a geometrical pattern of concentrical squares and circles representing the projection of cosmos. Although the *maṇḍala* may, exceptionally, be represented on some woven material, originally it was drawn on the ground with powders (*cūrṇa*) of different colours"[1]. Nowadays, the word *maṇḍala* serves to designate different sorts of paintings executed on any type of material whether or not they are composed on a geometrical plan. Tucci pointed out that "in course of time the *maṇḍala,* which is always necessary when a disciple receives esoteric baptism, lost this original character of an exclusive instrument of initiatic rites and became confused with *paṭa,* in the sense that the *maṇḍala* too was painted as an object of general worship, without any definite purpose of being used for some particular meditation or ceremony".[2] Marcelle Lalou wrote of the difference between *paṭa* and *maṇḍala* that "although the *paṭa* are magical objects, diagrams have no place in their decorative composition. This is one of those facts which in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* avoids confusion between *paṭa* and *maṇḍala,* the decoration of which is tied to geometrical figures".[3] It should perhaps be stressed that the drawings of *maṇḍala* were executed on the ground, horizontally and were to be seen, so to speak, from a bird's eye view point, whereas the *paṭa* were usually hung up vertically where the spectator's eye considered them also from a viewpoint vertical to the surface.

The *paṭa* were used in conjuring up the divinity they represented: their figures were composed as subjects of meditation. This use of paintings as aids in meditation developed with the spread of Tantrism. Tucci has pointed out how "In some of these books [i.e. Tantra] is prescribed the use of *paṭa,* viz. paintings reproducing visibly the schemes of the theology which is behind those rites."[4] The Buddhists consider the making of *paṭa* as an activity which leads to the acquisition of merit (*punyasambhara*): the patron who offers a painting to a divinity accomplishes thus a pious action. Often the paintings which serve meditational purposes are to be found in private shrines (*Āgama-chē*) reserved to initiates.[5] Other paintings however are to be found in temples and monasteries and are hung up on certain festival days or at the time of certain processions. The paintings to be found in temples often represent the foundation of the latter and the miracles which accompanied the event.[6] During the Buddha *jayanti* festival, the anniversary of the birth of the Buddha, *paṭa* are still hung out at Svayambunāth; in the *vihāra* of Patan one sees *paṭa* or strip-paintings hung on the walls of the inner courtyards during the *bahi-dyo-boyegu,* in the Newar Buddhist month of Gūla (August-September) which is the "rite of looking at the gods" in the monasteries. At that time, a particular section of the ground floor of the monastery is turned into a makeshift exhibition hall where the old images, wood and metal, and other holy relics - paintings, manuscripts, clothing, chariots, thrones and shrines, or remaining parts thereof - are assembled in chaotic fashion . . . All of these relics are displayed for the edification of the pious and so that an annual *pūjā,* or worship, may be bestowed upon them".[7] When the statues of the *Aṣṭamātṛkā* are taken out of their temples (*dyo-chē*) during



98. Paṭa representing Śiva-Śakti. 17th century. Height: circa 60 cm. Bhaktapur Museum.

the Bisket *Jātrā* at Bhaktapur, paintings inside temples are also taken out: they are in the form of long scrolls with different representations of the Mātṛkā, Bhairava and Gaṇeśa.

Tucci has described how, in former times, in India and Tibet, paintings served "as representations of the lives of the saints and masters of the glories of heavens. They were then employed by story-tellers to illustrate by visible images the tales they told, roaming from one place to another, on the occasion of feasts and celebrations. Or they were used for the same purpose by guides of convents, when explaining to pilgrims the miracles and glories of holy personages who lived there".[8] It is possible that the long, narrative, Newar scrolls may have served the same purpose, that is, to explain the doctrine with the help of images. But if this was once the custom, it has today completely disappeared.

Two periods can be distinguished in Newar painting. The first lies between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and the second continues up to the end of the eighteenth century. In fourteenth and fifteenth century paintings, Indian influence is very strong. If, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Newar painters left their mark on Tibetan paintings, at the end of the seventeenth century and above all during the eighteenth century, one notes influences at work in the opposite direction; Tibetan painters then impose their style and Newar painters begin to copy Tibetan *thang-ka*. "In Tibet in the seventeenth century the Tibetan mode of painting was consolidated as a style of its own. Whereas Nepali masters were the teachers of Tibetan artists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Tibetan style had found its way to Nepal by the middle of the seventeenth century."[9]

The expression 'Tibeto-Nepalese style' has been used to characterise certain paintings found at Tun-huang and which date from the tenth century. It would be preferable to speak of two distinct styles - Indian and Tibetan - for it is difficult to define or to isolate a Nepalese style at this epoch.[10] With regard to certain banners from Tun-huang we should note that there is a formal resemblance between the lay-out of these paintings and that of fifteenth to sixteenth century Newar *paṭa*.[11] The painted surfaces are divided in two sections; in the upper part, which occupies a larger surface, are to be found the divinity or divinities whereas in the lower part, which is smaller, are depicted the donors of the paintings. Women are separated, therein, from men, and the respective groups are portrayed on either side of a divinity or a sacrificial altar. This grouping of the sexes is characteristic of the Newar paintings: in Tibetan *thang kas* the patrons are not represented with the same regularity and men and women are not separated.[12]

The earliest dated *paṭa* are of the fourteenth century. Pal dates several *paṭa* from the thirteenth century or even the twelfth century on the basis of stylistic arguments, one example being the *maṇḍala* of Samvara; "On stylistic considerations this fragmentary *paṭa* is closer to such thirteenth century illuminations than to the fifteenth century paintings".[13] It is certain that there is a continuity of style between the twelfth century manuscript illustrations and the fourteenth and fifteenth century *paṭa*: one finds the same linear style, the same little panel-scenes separated by trees with a line around the principal divinity and within each panel the personages portrayed are grouped around a central figure. The expression used by Pal-"comic strips" - is most appropriate for characterising the *paṭa* of this epoch. Often the principal divinity is represented in the hollow of a sacred edifice, as in the illustrations of the Cambridge manuscript: this is also the case in the Viṣṇu *maṇḍala* published by Pal or in the *lakṣacaitya paṭa*.[14]

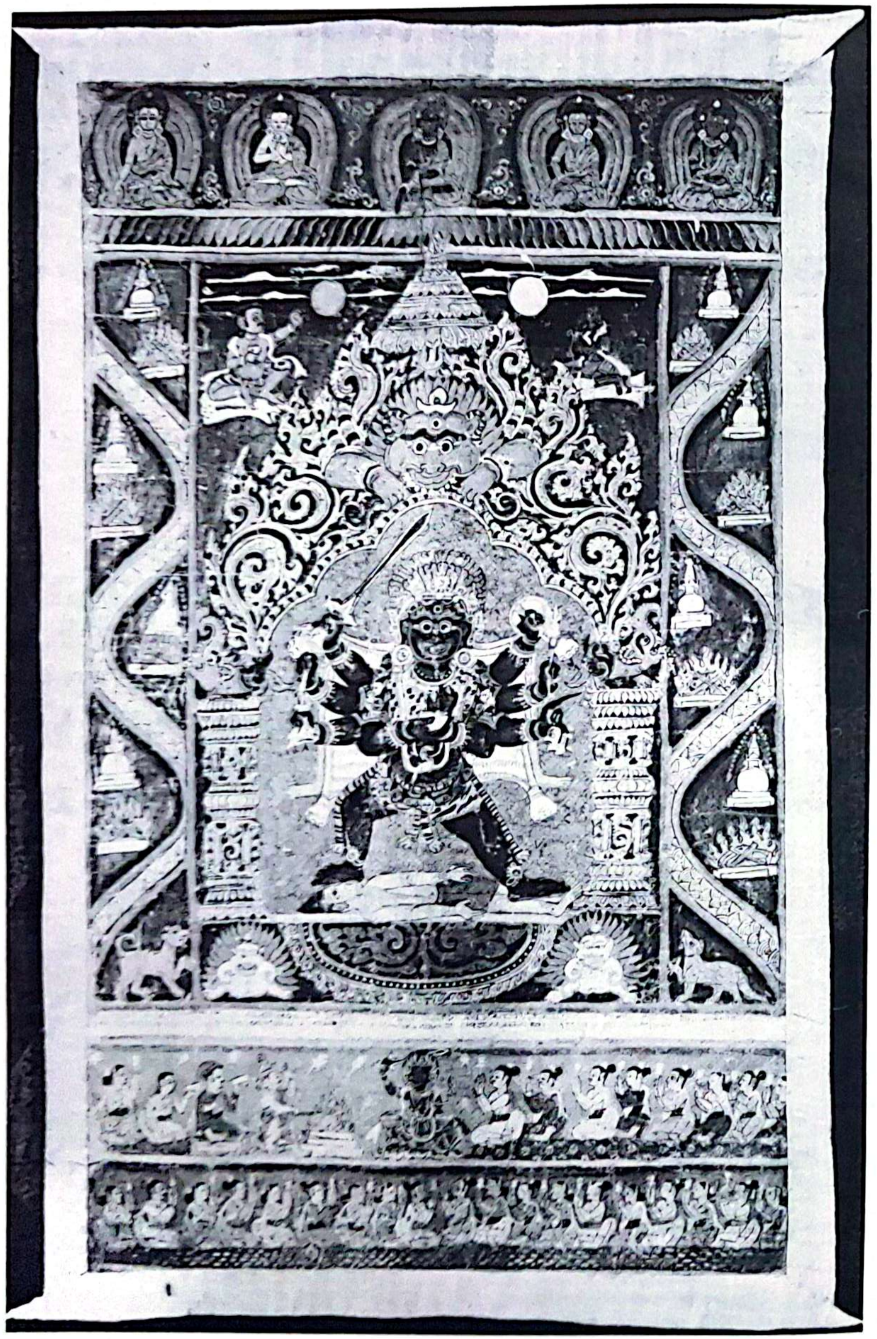
It is certain that the majority of the *paṭa* and the illuminated manuscripts are Buddhist creations. It is very seldom that one finds Brahmanical *paṭa* before the end of the fifteenth century.[15] Despite the great variety of the subjects treated, certain are depicted with a remarkable frequency, sometimes in differing manners. One subject which is common to both Buddhist and Brahmanical paintings is that of the eight *śmaśānas*. In the *paṭa* representing the *maṇḍala* of Samvara, which we have mentioned previously, depicting a very popular figure among Vajrayāna Buddhists in Nepal, each section of the circle surrounding the central divinity represents a *śmaśāna*. "The outermost circle, with its ornamental flame border, is divided into eight sections by means of rivers. Each section represents a *mahāśmaśāna* or great cemetery, presided over by one of the Dikpālas, such as Indra, presiding over the east, Varuṇa, over the west, etc. Apart from the Dikpāla, each cemetery, is

V. **Amoghapāśa flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī with, below, Hayagrīva and Sudhana Kumāra. 15th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS58-1977. 97 x 74.5 cm.**

typically occupied with *caitya,* flaming fires, corpses, *nāga, siddha* and animals that haunt such places." [16] Another *paṭa* from the seventeenth century, representing the *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī, is described in these terms by Stella Kramrisch: "An inner circle of lotus petals and, on the other side, rims of skulls and flames enclose the eight cemeteries. They are here without their horror, pleasaunces where the regents of the eight directions reside and the Siddhas sport. Their style is a revival of XVth century form". [17] The eight cemeteries are also represented in a Brahmanical *paṭa* of the seventeenth century figuring Śiva-Śaktī. Here the cemeteries are again represented by the usual **98** symbols: a *liṅga,* a *caitya,* a funerary fire, with rivers separating the eight *śmaśāna.* What distinguishes this *paṭa* is the fact that the eight cemeteries surround the divinities and are not represented in the framework of a *maṇḍala.* A painting from the Hodgson Collection, published by Sylvain Lévi, which is now in the Musée Guimet and which is a sort of running pictorial commentary on the *Svayambhu Purāṇa* lists, among the sacred places of Nepal, the eight *śmaśāna* and their divinities.[18] The painting dates from the nineteenth century but "it is probable that it reproduces a known pattern (*modèle connu*) considerably older." [19] The names of the eight *śmaśāna* are those in use today at Bhaktapur where they play an important part in the religious organisation of the town (see the section on "Śaivite temples").

The considerable number of *paṭa* which depict Amoghapāśa demonstrate how popular this divinity was. Perhaps the best known of these *paṭa* is that of Leiden Museum and which is dated 1532. [20] The *paṭa* of the Victoria and Albert Museum of Plate V is not dated, but judging from its style and the comparisons that can be made with other specimens, one can confidently affirm that it is a fifteenth century piece. The composition is identical to that of the Leiden Amoghapāśa. The divinity is white, eight-armed, and flanked by the two goddesses Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. At the bottom of the painting are Sudhanakumāra and Hayagrīva both kneeling. A peculiarity of this *paṭa* are the panels which surround the main personage. This lay-out reminds us of the *paṭa* of the Vajradhāra **VI** which is in the Bhaktapur Museum. In two nineteenth century *paṭa,* Amoghapāśa is represented in a *maṇḍala.* [21] The worship of Amoghapāśa is an important ritual for Buddhist Newars and this doubtless explains the frequency with which the subject was painted. "Every month, on the eight day of the bright fortnight, there is a worship of the Lord of the world (Amoghapāśa) in the *saṅgha-maṇḍala,* with the muttering of the six-syllable *mantra* accompanied by ritual touching of the parts of the body and meditation. An honorarium is given to one's spiritual teacher and a meal to the monks. At the time of the third watch the performer of the rites take his one meal of the immortal substances, or of milk alone. The flowers and all other accessories of the rite are white. At night the performer remains awake and listens to the tales in praise of this observance for the sake of salvation." [22] The ritual described above is that of the *Aṣṭami vrata:* "the text referred to is the *Aṣṭamī-vrata-māhātmya* which is extant in a Newari version and consists mainly of well-known tales of the *avadāna* type pressed into service in order to illustrate the merits of the observance". [23]

The worship of Amoghapāśa is still current practice in the valley of Nepal and we were able to observe it as recently as the month of October, 1977. The cult is generally celebrated on the eighth of the dark fortnight of each lunar month. *Aṣṭami vrata* is the local name for the religious celebration on the eighth day. Worship generally takes place in groups and centres on *pūjā* offered to *maṇḍalas* of the Buddha, of the Dharma, of the Samgha and of Amoghapāśa, the worship being conducted by a Vajrācārya priest. Most of the worshippers are women; altogether about one hundred and twenty persons participated in the celebration we observed at Gokarna, a few miles **109** north of Bodhnāth. Each month, on the eighth day, such groups congregate at different temples in the valley as part of a six-monthly or yearly cycle of worship. Such cycles are varied and may, for instance, encompass shrines of twelve Lokeṣors, one for each of the twelve months of the year. The faithful take their places in a wide circle or rectangle and are seated on the ground to the right and left of the officiant. Cards or printed cloths marked with copies of the four *maṇḍala* are generally **108** distributed to each participant before the start of the ceremony. Preliminary rituals which are executed by the Vajrācārya include an *argha* to the sun, an offering of the *guru maṇḍala,* the *kalaśa pūjā* and a *homa.* Amoghapāśa Lokeṣor is summoned into the *kalaśa* and cooked rice is offered **31** as a *bali.* Once Amoghapāśa is present, each individual participant offers the *guru maṇḍala* to Vajrasattva. The joint worship of the four *maṇḍala* then takes place under the conduct of the Vajrācārya whose instructions and explanations were diffused to the assembly, on the occasion we witnessed, by two loud-speakers. The Buddha *maṇḍala* contains the five Tathāgata and their



99. *Paṭa representing Bhairava. Dated N.S. 809=1689 A.D. Collection S. Lienhard. Height: 99 cm. Width 61 cm.*

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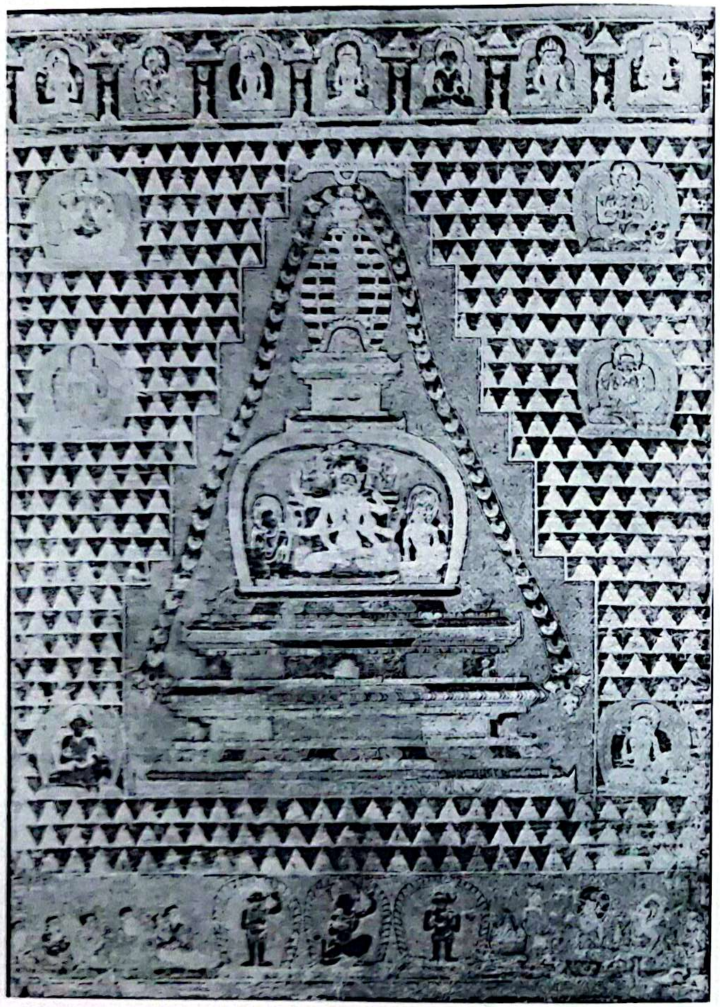
consorts, with the exception of Prajñā, the consort of Vairocana, who is never represented. The Dharma *maṇḍala* contains personifications of the *nava grantha,* the nine Mahāyāna texts which form the basic canon of the Vajrācāryas. The Saṃgha *maṇḍala* contains nine Bodhisattvas, the principal figure being that of Āryāvalokiteśvara. The *maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa consists of two circles of divinities around an inner trio comprising Amoghapāśa Lokeṣor, Trailokyavijaya and *Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hum,* the outer circle being ringed in turn by four Tārā and a final outer rank of the eight Lokpālas. The composition of the four *maṇḍala* will vary in detail according to the learning and the practice of the presiding Vajrācārya. The full description of the entire ritual would lead us far beyond the limits of our present study. Let us note, however, that a length of white thread is held simultaneously by all participants, at one point in the ritual, and is later divided into small pieces one of which is donated to each individual who then ties it round his or her neck as a blessing. These small threads are said to symbolise the robe which a disciple receives from his *guru* when initiated in the *maṇḍala.* The *maṇḍala* we illustrate can be compared to that published by R. O. Meisezahl. [24]

The earliest literary reference to Amoghapāśa which we know of in Nepal is dated 2 May, 1361[25] Amoghapāśa is a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, to be found throughout Central Asia and the Far East in the countries influenced by the spread of the Great Vehicle. [26] The sanskrit text of the *sādhana* of the white, as opposed to the red, Amoghapāśa is lost but the Tibetan translation of Śākya Śrībhadra's text (he lived from 1127 to 1225) made by Vibhūticandra and Shes-rab rin-chen from Mustang, is conserved in the Tanjur. The twenty benefits to be obtained from the reciting the *Amoghapāśa-(rāja)-hṛdaya* as well as the eight blessings which this assures at the hour of death are listed in that text. [27] Meisezahl has also published a very useful study of the various manuscripts of the *Amoghapāśa–hṛdaya-dhāraṇi,* which is the first chapter of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja,* a much larger work in twenty-six chapters, and has critically edited and translated into English an early manuscript of the Reiunji. [28] In the painting which is included in these pages, the iconography of the central figure corresponds well enough to the canons laid down by the *mahapaṇḍita* from Kashmir. Amoghapāśa is clad in a long white dhoti, and has a tiger-skin round his waist. There is an image of Amitābha on his crown. The name of Amoghapāśa signifies 'he of the infallible noose' and it is this noose which exemplifies his power to save all creatures lost in the turmoil of *saṃsāra.* In Nepal he is the saviour of those in distress or in prison and, along with many other gods, is invoked by those who are childless. To his left, in our painting, is the green Tārā, one of her hands being in *varada-mudrā* and the other holding an *utpala* lotus. She is dressed in red. On the right of Amoghapāśa is the goddess Bhṛkuṭī. She is four-armed and has one face. In her two left hands are a *tridandi* and an ewer. At the feet of Amoghapāśa are two other personages. On his lower left is Hayagriva who is, as is usual, smaller than the central figure, and red in colour. The personage to the lower right is Sudhanakumāra. It is not easy to distinguish the objects he holds in his hands.

The box-like illustrations which surround the central rectangle in which Amoghapāśa is the *maṇḍaleṣa,* the "lord of the *maṇḍala*", remind us of similar methods of composition employed in Tibetan paintings of the life of Milarepa or representations of the Eighty-four Siddhas. The torments to which the individuals are subjected in many of these illustrations were perhaps inspired by the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra.* This text is one of the nine fundamental texts of the Newar Vajrācārya. [29] And this famous *Mahāyāna sūtra* has inspired much painting in Indian Asia. Murase has written a thoughtful article on such Chinese and Central Asia paintings in a recent number of *Artibus Asiae.* [30] In this general context a Newar pictorial treatment of Amoghapāśa's magic power to save would be in no way surprising. The chapter in question was translated from the sanskrit into French as far back as 1844 by Eugène Burnouf and was later rendered into English by H. Kern. [31] As Arthur Waley pointed out in 1931 [32] the perils as represented in actual paintings and sculptures are often different from those described in this famous *sūtra* and it would perhaps be unwise to attribute to one single text the sources from which the painter derived his inspiration.

Among the annual Buddhist rituals is the *lakṣa caitya:* "One day before the end of the month of Śravaṇa, there is the worship consisting of the performance of the *lakṣa caitya* rite, the consignment of the model caityas to the river, the sounding of the "horn-drum" and the serving of a meal to one's caste fellow". [33] *Lakṣa caitya* is another favorite subject of Newar painters. The donor makes a symbolical gift in offering a painting of a great number of *caitya,* the ideal number being one



100. Paṭa representing lakṣacaitya; in the centre is Uṣṇiṣa-vijaya. 16th century. Collection Ravi Kumar, Paris; Height: 54 cm. Width: 40 cm.

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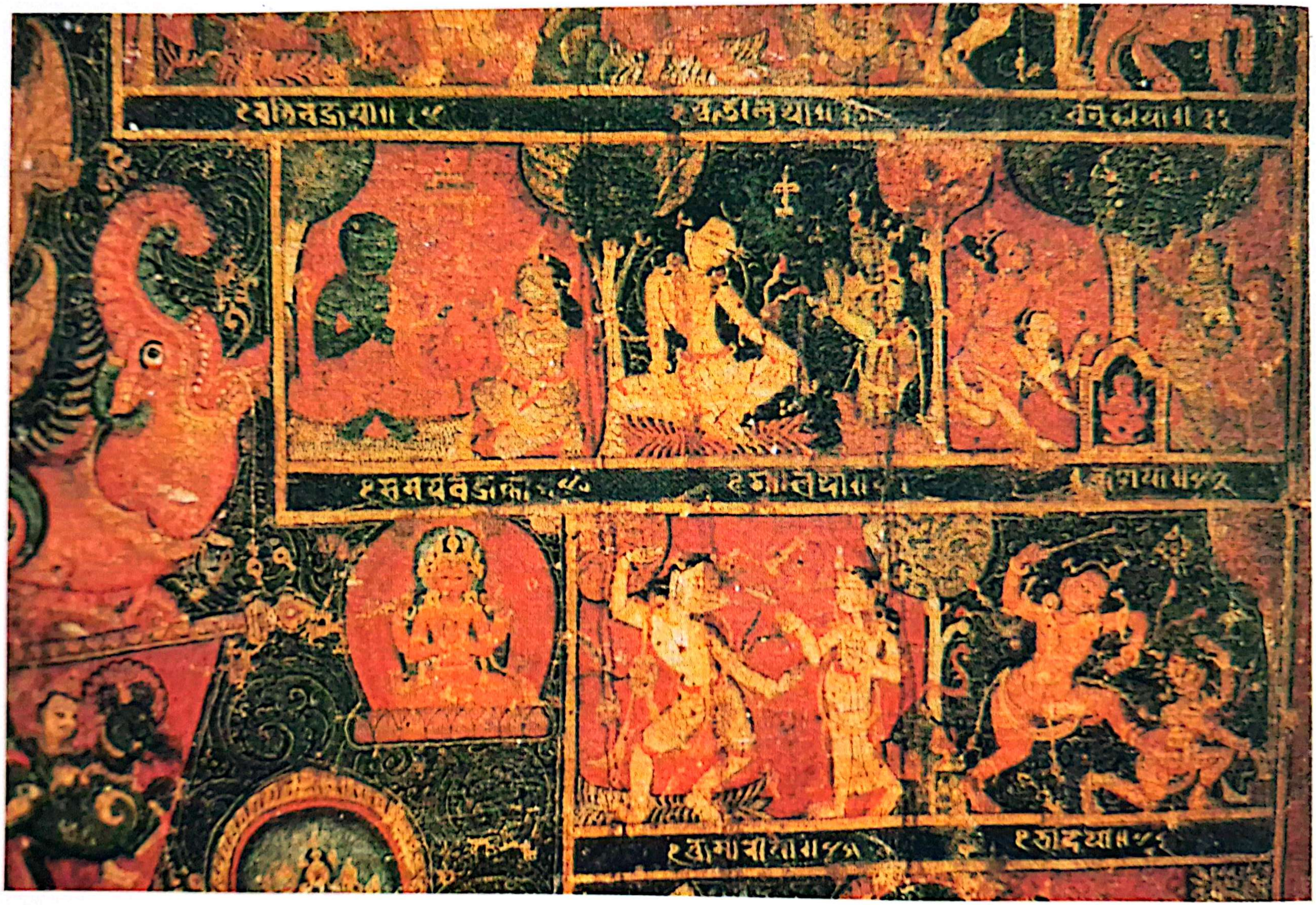
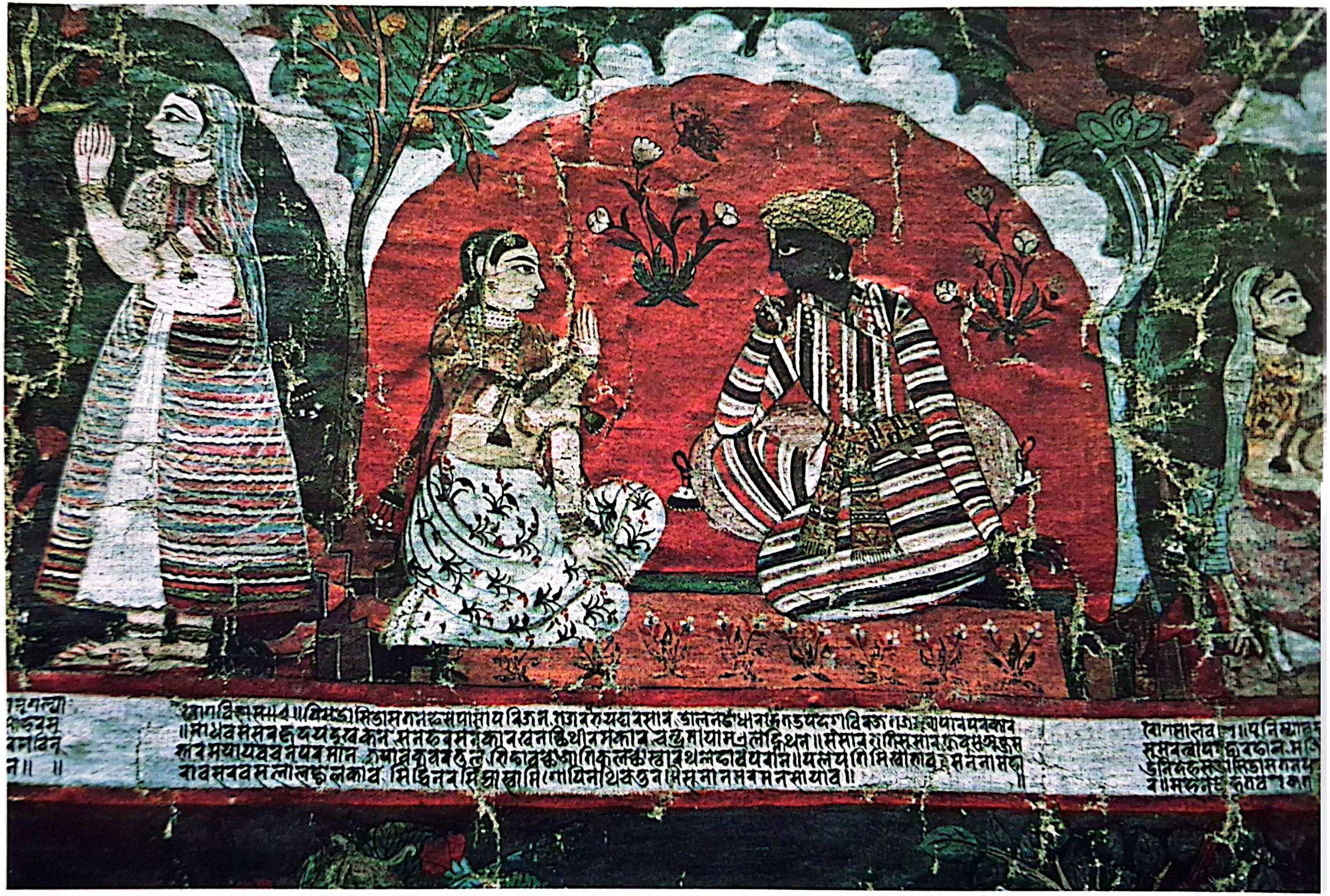
hundred thousand (one *lakh*). Often in the centre of such paintings there is a *stūpa* with a divinity of the Buddhist pantheon: Uṣṇiṣavijaya. At the top of the painting there is the series of five **100**
transcendent Buddhas or Tathāgata; [34] and, as is usual in Newar paintings, the donors are at the bottom. The lay-out of these paintings, with numerous *caityas* grouped around a divinity or a *stūpa,* is reminiscent of the Tibetan "thousand Buddhas" *thang-kas.* John Lowry writes that "*thang-kas* with a central figure (usually one of the Dhyani-Buddhas) surrounded by rows of the same figures are popular in Tibet. They form a stylistic group which seems to be unrelated to other groups of *thang-kas* such as narrative, genealogical or *maṇḍala* paintings. The multiplication of figures in this way is a parallel to the reduplication of prayers by various means such as wind-operated prayer-wheels. Moreover the repetition of the same verbal formula (*mantra* or *dhāraṇī*) in order to achieve a specific object is enjoined in several religious texts. Thus the painting of many representations of the same figure in wall paintings or *thang-kas* is probably regarded as being more efficacious in invoking the aid of the deity than a single figure". [35] Stella Kramrisch describes in these terms a *paṭa* which she published: "The stepped central portion of the painting contains a *stūpa* with its enclosed goddess (Uṣṇiṣavijaya), a square harmika with the eyes of the Adi-Buddha, its *śikhara* like top surmounted by an umbrella. Flower garlands are stretched in a triangle from the umbrella to the base. Rows upon rows of miniature *stūpas* dot the background. The five Buddhas are seen in the top row; four donors and their many women appear in the two bottom rows". [36] The *paṭa* we published here is similar to that published by Kramrisch and to another, dated 1416, published by Pal. [37] One finds already this type of composition - with a divinity blotted against a sacred edifice surrounded by several *caityas* - in the eleventh century Cambridge manuscript published by Foucher. In that case the goddess Uṣṇiṣavijaya is absent from the miniature but she is described in the *sādhana* [38]. In a recent article Pal pointed out that "there is no Indian example of a *stūpa* with Uṣṇiṣavijaya and in Nepal the earliest occurrence is a *lakṣacaitya* painting of 1416 A.D." [39]

The *paṭa* made for the ritual of *bhīmaratha* also have a *stūpa* in their centre. This ritual is carried out when a person reaches the age of seventy-seven years, seven months and seven days. "It is believed that thereafter he or she enters the realm of senility and is no longer responsible for his actions. The person is further absolved from the responsibility of having to observe any religious functions until his or her death. It is interesting to note that both sexes are permitted to carry out the ceremony" . . . "The two most important and invariable features of the iconography of such paintings are the presence of the *stūpa* and a chariot ridden by one or two persons in whose honour the rite is being performed". [40]

Svayambhunāth, the most important holy place for the Newar Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley, appears in several *paṭa.* In the Cambridge manuscript one finds an 'ordinary' *stūpa* with the **I**
inscription "Nepale svayambunāth caitya". Foucher said that "one must admit that the banal image of the *stūpa* to be found in min. II, 37, has once again only a vague ressemblance to the numerous reproductions which we possess at least so far as the present form of the most famous religious building in Nepal is concerned." [41] It should be granted that in the representation of monuments, both convention and fantasy play their parts; it is of no surprise that the Svayambhu monument was often represented symbolically. Nevertheless, we have no eleventh century description of the monument although we do know that it was subjected to considerable transformations and repairs throughout the centuries. Many of these buildings situated around the large *stūpa* were built in the seventeenth century - for instance the two *śikhara* - nineteenth century descriptions of which cannot coincide with the monument as it was in the eleventh century. A sixteenth century *paṭa* [42] shows the reconstruction of Svayambhunāth during the reign at Patan of the three brothers Nara Siṃha, Puranda Siṃha and Uddhava Siṃha. [43] This *paṭa* not only describes an historical event but also provides "an early schematic map of the Nepal valley and an important inscription". According to Pal, the top part of the above mentioned *paṭa,* made for the performance of the *bhīmaratha* rite, "provides us with a generalised picture of the topography of Svayambhunāth: it also shows us the manner in which the parasol was hoisted". [44]

Another seventeenth century *paṭa* (the inscription is damaged and only parts of it can be read) represents the *stūpa* of Svayambhunāth surrounded by monuments. This *paṭa* is above all a map, a topo-description of the religious edifice. It has not the two-part division usual to *paṭa* and the devotees are not at the bottom of the painting but below the *stūpa.* At the base, above the inscription,

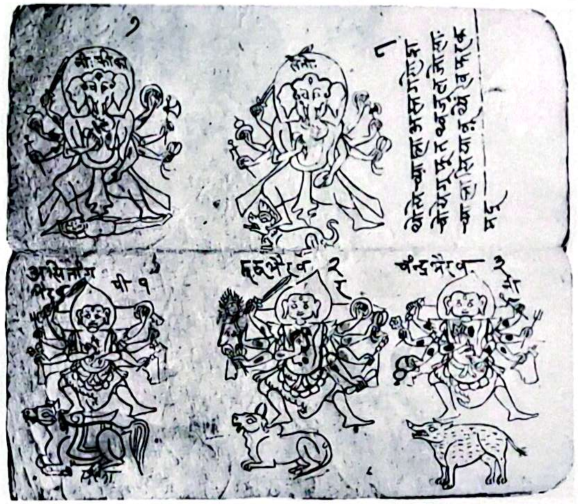




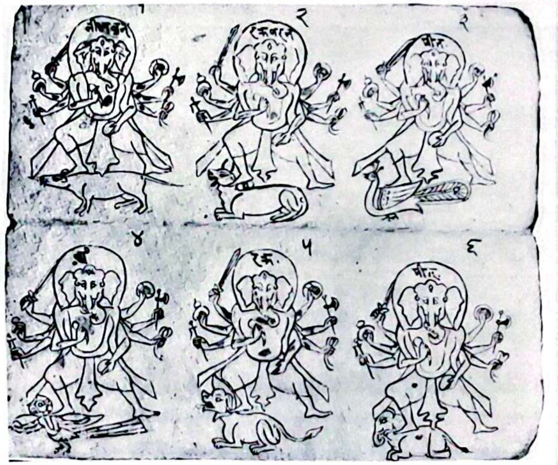
VII. Detail of a long scroll depicting Kṛṣṇa-Līḷā. This work is from the end of the 17th century. The influence of contemporary Indian techniques of miniature painting is apparent. The scroll is in Patan Museum.

are represented two divinities, a red Avalokiteśvara and a Mahākāla who seems to emerge from the flames. For Avalokiteśvara, red is not a surprising colour in Nepal; moreover in the manuscript described by Foucher there was an image of Avalokiteśvara on the Svayambhu hillock.[45] Indeed the most popular divinity among the Buddhist Newars is Matsyendranāth, who is identified with Avalokiteśvara in the form of Lokeśvara and is red in colour. "One may note that the image is red to mark this identity and when the Newars tell one that he is really Avalokiteśvara this is true only in so far as Avalokiteśvara was himself already identified with Lokeśvara".[46] The stone staircase on the east side of the Svayambhu hill is in the centre of the *paṭa*: one might even say that it divides the *paṭa* vertically in two. The wood below the holy building is, in the *paṭa*, exactly similar to the description given by Oldfield; "The approach to the temple from the valley is by a broad flight of stone steps, between five hundred and six hundred in number, which runs straight up the eastern end of the hill. The ascent at first is gradual, but it becomes very steep towards its upper part. Along the greater part of its course are numbers of little dedicatory and funeral *caityas* of various sizes and designs . . . The sides of the hill are thickly covered with trees, which serve as residence to crowds of monkeys, many of whom are to be seen playing about the neighbouring temples." The trees are painted in the manner of Rajasthani paintings, as is[47] the case in numerous *paṭa* from the end of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. "In front of the eastern shrines, and at the top of the flight of steps leading from the valley is a curiously-carved double-headed ornament about five feet in length, and made of copper-gilt which represents the Vajra or Thunderbolt of Indra".[48] On both sides of the *vajra* are to be found the devotees, on the right side the men and, on the left, the women. Certainly the most interesting part of this *paṭa* is the upper centre where is portrayed the *stūpa* surrounded by Newar houses. The three dominant colours are: red for the houses and sanctuaries, white and gold for the *stūpa* and the two *śikhara*. The Newar houses are remarkably like those of the present day as they are two or three-storeyed, they have tiled roofs and their window-frames are of dark brown wood. This *paṭa* is an exceptional document for the study of Newar architecture. There are few such documents and this one shows us clearly how little the form of Newar houses has changed and how conservative of ancient forms is this architecture. The houses in this painting are of different types: domestic dwellings, a building which in its lower stage is a *pāṭi* (or perhaps a *sattal*), small pagoda-type sanctuaries with two or three roofs, buildings which are quite clearly religious edifices (perhaps *dyo-chē*) for the doors are gilt and on either side of the doorways are bronze statues; the traditional *harmika* is gilded and painted with the eyes of the Ādi-Buddha; the umbrellas of the early *stūpas* have increased in number to thirteen and are transformed into large discs which form a kind of steeple-top. Above, there is a second small *chattra* which reposes on a sort of tripod formed by three long gilt supports rising from the upper edge of the lower and larger canopy. In the *paṭa* mentioned above which represents the restoration of Svayambunāth and the hoisting of the parasol this is being done with a rope and pulley system.

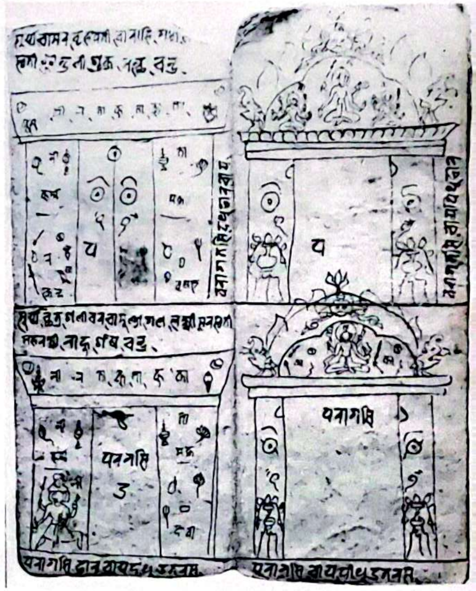
Several groups of people are figured around the *caitya*. Priests are making oblations; there is a group of musicians; and other individuals are engaged in devotions in front of the monuments. Several groups are situated at the bottom of the *paṭa*: some are climbing up to make their *pūjā* (principally women) and others are porters with flocks of goats. The costume of the men is that of former times. They wear long white skirts and round caps corresponding to the costume worn by Newar Brahmans or other officiants today at certain ceremonies (see Illustration 103, of Newar Brahmins at Bisket *Jātrā*). On the other hand, the noble personage on horse-back, accompanied by a servant with a parasol, has a turban and clothes which show Indian influences. However it is clear that the painter was concerned primarily to portray the monuments: the personages are fairly stereotyped and hieratic. At the top of the painting, as in all Buddhist *paṭa* one finds the five Tathāgata as well as the sun and the moon. There is nothing exceptional in Newar painting about the representation of a monument in a *paṭa*. "The figures of the more important deities and their *parivāra* as depicted in the older *thangkas* were meant to illustrate famous sculptures or bronzes existing in the more important temples or religious centres, and not as more or less abstract forms to be conceived according to iconographical descriptions, however important those instructions may have been for religious purposes and practices . . . This conclusion is the more important as it teaches us that whenever we encounter representations on the *thang-kas* from Nepal and Tibet of very important figures from the Buddhist pantheon, we may be sure that they were meant to depict concrete sculptures, venerated by devotees, and not representations from miniature illustrations in manuscripts, known only to specialists of iconography". These remarks were made by Pott when



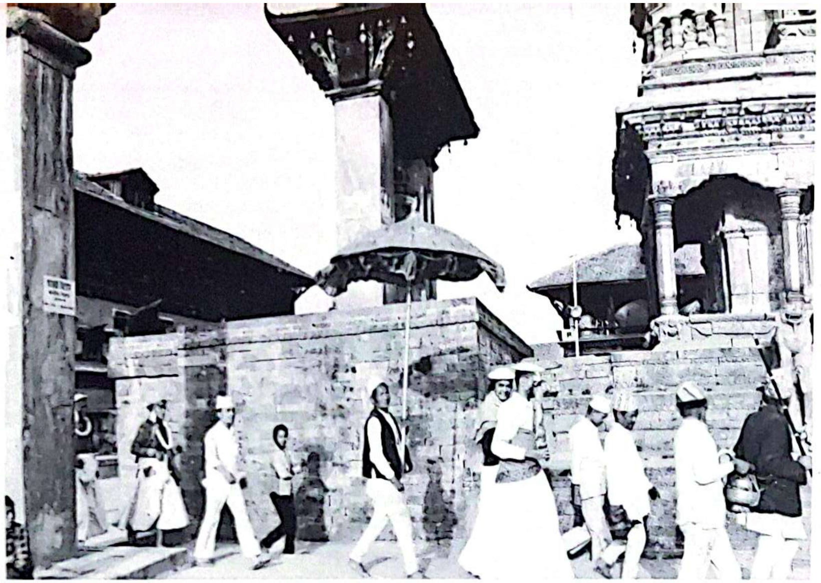
101a. A page of Viṣṇu Citrakar's notebook, representing Aṣṭa Bhairava.



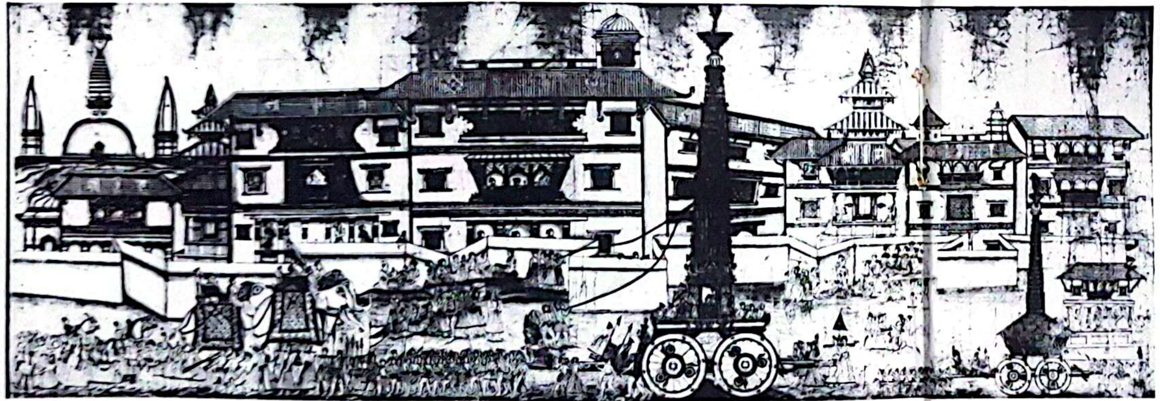
101b. Viṣṇu Citrakar's notebook; Aṣṭa Gaṇeśa.



102. Viṣṇu Citrakar's notebook. Represents drawings to be made at doorway entrances to Āgama-chē.

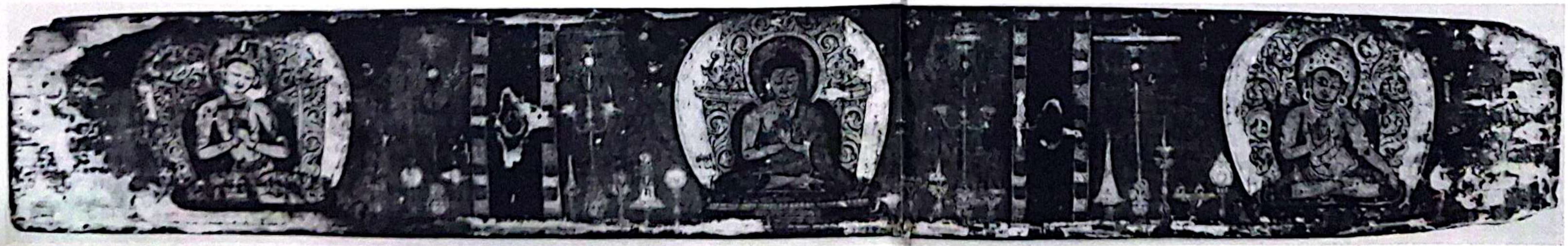


103. *Brahmins coming out of Taleju temple in Bhaktapur, carrying the Malla royal sceptre, during the Bisket* jātrā *in 1975.*



104. *Drawing representing the procession of Rāto Matsyendranāth at Patan from Hodgson Collection in the Musée Guimet, Paris.*

105. *Painted wooden bookcover from the British Museum.*



तिरकिट धा

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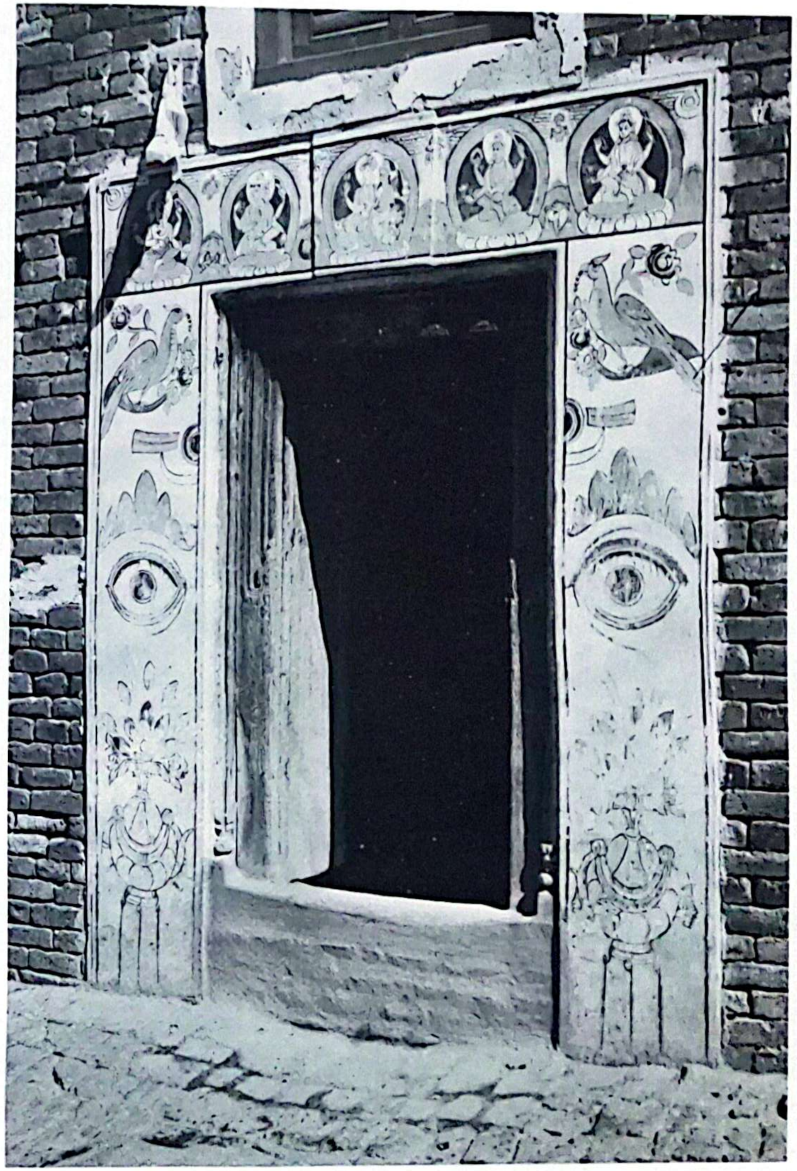
describing the Amoghapāśa *paṭa* at Leiden Museum which we mentioned above. [49] The inscription on that *paṭa* shows that the work was carried out on the order of Bhikṣuśri, of his wife Jirulakṣmī and their children, while the central figure represents the Amoghapāśa at the Mahābhuta temple in Bhaktapur. [50]

We have already drawn attention to the influence of Tibetan painting on seventeenth century *paṭa*. Certain eighteenth century *paṭa* have adopted the Tibetan style completely with regard to the pose of the divinity, the floral motif, the Tantric divinities and thus it becomes difficult to distinguish a Newar *paṭa* from a Tibetan *thang-ka*. On the other hand, from the seventeenth century onwards, one finds long scroll paintings where Indian influence, particularly Rājput and Moghol influence, are evident. The scenes are laid out in two horizontal strips, but each scene is separated from one another by lines or trees and below each scene there is an explanatory caption. In the second half of the XVIIth century several Rājput artists were obliged to emigrate to Nepal. Moreover Kathmandu kings such as Pratāpa Malla (1641-1674 A.D.) were continuously in contact with Moghol India: he married two princesses from Cooch Bihar, Rupamatī and Anantapriyā. During his reign the arts and temple-building flourished extensively. He seems to have brought to his court several Indian artists. The king of Bhatgaon, Jagatprakāśa Malla (1644-1673), a contemporary of Pratāpa Malla, was a poet, fascinated by the literature of Mīthila; "he was mentioned in the Maithili literature as a devotional poet". [51] He commanded part of the construction of the Bhaktapur royal palace as well as several temples. In such a cultural context, the appearance of new paintings showing Rajput and, in particular, Newar influence is no ways surprising. Under the influence from Bengal developed a new wave of Vaiṣṇavism which resuscitated the cult of Kṛṣṇa in the seventeenth century in Nepal. "The Vaiṣṇava came into Nepal and may well have been received at the courts of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. The Vaiṣṇava texts and paintings which they carried with them apparently left imprints on Nepali patrons as well as on artists. Major Kṛṣṇa temples such as the one in Patan were built around the mid-seventeenth century". [52] At the same epoch we find several long scrolls representing the life of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-līla*). Pal has described admirably a long scroll dated
VII 1692 portraying incidents from the *Kṛṣṇa-līla*. [53] A similar painting is to be seen in Patan Museum. The scenes are separated by trees and the costumes and landscape are Indian; the faces which are painted in profile are expressive and recall the early Rajasthani school. "Despite the sacred nature of the theme and the fact that these scrolls were treated reverentially, they were also used as wall decorations. In India as well as in Nepal it is often difficult to distinguish between the religious and secular function of an object of art. Scrolls such as these had a didactic value and were also enjoyed aesthetically. They served the same function as the miniatures did in a Rajput court or household in India and hence, perhaps, imitated their style". [54]

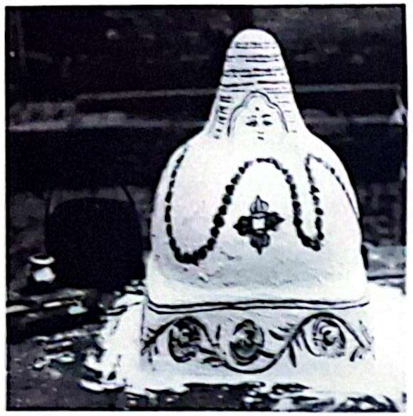
Another long scroll made on the occasion of the Ekādaśī Vrata, a cult celebrated in honour of Viṣṇu, is in the Geneva Museum. [55] The painting, which is dated 1771, shows how this rite was inaugurated as it evokes the merits acquired by practising the rite. It illustrates how the king Rukmāṃgada was tempted to abandon it, whence the title given to this scroll known as "The temptation of king Rukmāṃgada". Several scrolls describing the *avadāna* of the Buddha, his life up to his Enlightenment, show traces of Rajasthani and Moghul influences.

Mural paintings

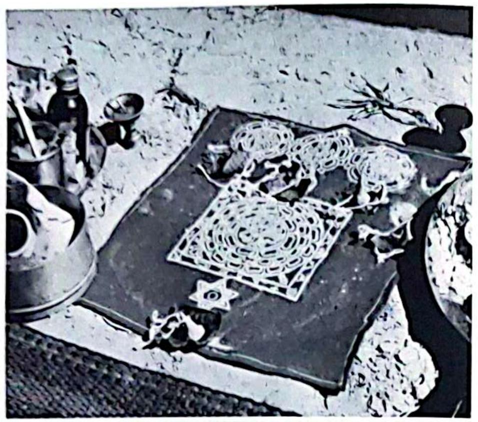
There are few examples of mural paintings from Malla times. The places where the oldest mural paintings are conserved seem to be the gallery in the Bhaktapur royal palace and the interior of the Taleju temple at Bhaktapur, which is not accessible to non-Hindus. Photographs of these paintings were published for the first time by Singh. [56] Several paintings of the Taleju temple at Bhaktapur date from the reigns of Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395), Jyotir Malla (1408-1428) and his grandson Yakṣa Malla (1428-1482). The gallery in the palace is twelve metres long and two metres fifty in width; it is parallel to the south wall of the main courtyard and seems to have formed the old parapet of the royal palace. Its walls are covered with miniatures grouped in three superimposed panels, one metre above the floor-level. One of the mural paintings depicting a Satī illustrates the legend we have mentioned elsewhere (page 87) concerning the foundation of the *pīṭhas*. In consequence of a dispute between her own father and her husband Śiva, Parvatī threw herself into the flames and became Satī: one of the murals represents this scene. In the Bhairavcok, one of the courtyards of the



106. Modern Śaivite mural paintings.



107. *Miniature* stūpa *freshly painted after Dasāĩ, 1977, by Viṣṇu Citrakar in courtyard of* vihāra *in Bhaktapur.*



108. *Cloth* maṇḍala *used during* Aṣṭami-vrata *in honour of Amoghapāśa.*

109. Aṣṭami-vrata *at Gokarna, October, 1977. The* homa *and a* caitya *in sand are clearly visible.*

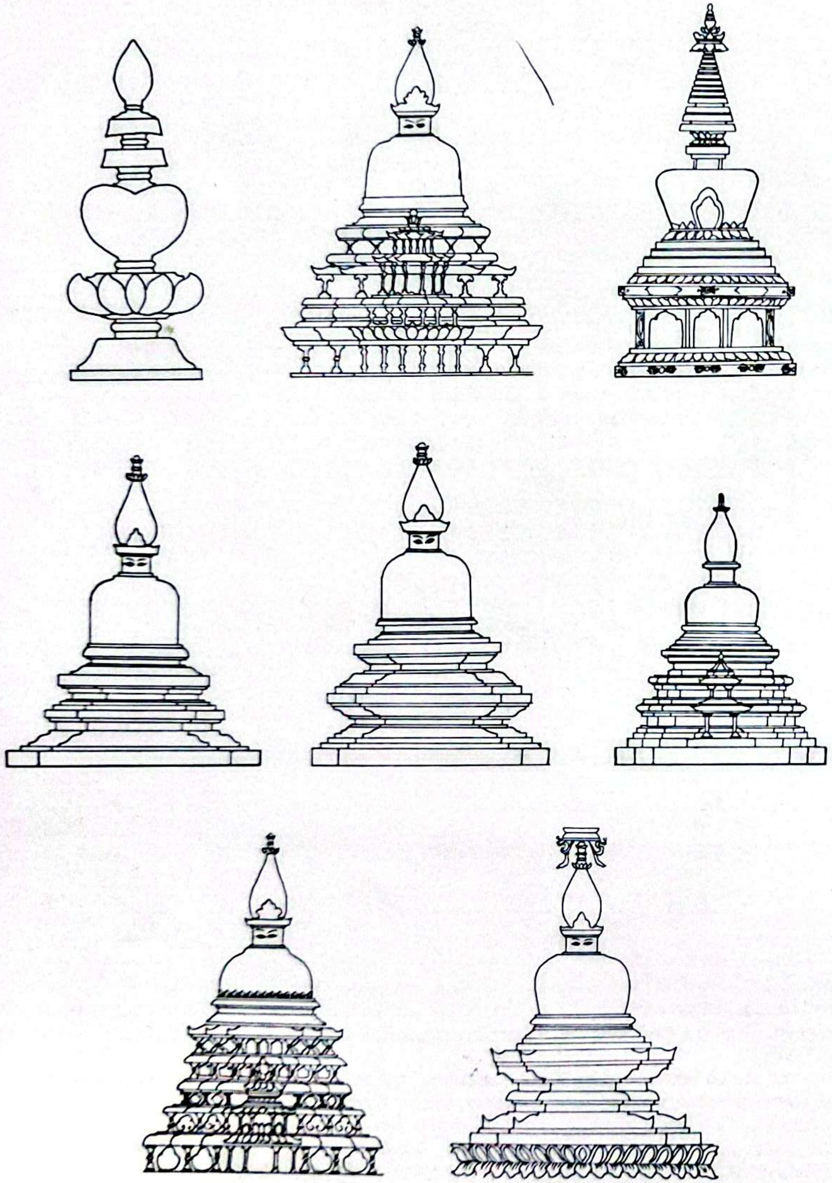
Bhaktapur Taleju temple, there are on the western wall images of Devī Bhairavī fighting against the two demons Śumbha and Niśumbha.[57] A manuscript, dating from the beginning of the 17th century, and published by Moti Chandra, also contains illustrations of these demons.[58] The fight against the demons is a legendary episode which has for long been extremely popular at Bhaktapur, and is still popular today. In the 17th century under the reigns of Jagatprakāśa Malla (1644-1673), Jitamitra Malla (1673-1696) and Bhūpatīndra Malla (1696-1722) new paintings illustrating fragments of the *Devī-māhātmya* were made on the walls of the Mulcok and the Bhairavcok of the Taleju temple. Nowadays the powers of the Devī are said to have devolved on to Caṇḍī and Gaṇeśa. There are 19th century murals of Caṇḍī at Hanuman Dhoka in Kathmandu. Their colours are bright; Rajput as well as Tibetan influences have been noted in these works which have been compared to the *Rāmāyaṇa* murals in the Nautale Darbar, although the latter are definitely more crude.[59] We only mention these nineteenth century works to show that the tradition of such paintings has lasted until modern times.

The mural paintings in the Bhaktapur palace mentioned above remind us of the long scroll paintings which we describe on another page. The colouring and the styles are similar. They are all tempera paintings on walls over a ground prepared with clay, hemp and a sort of molasse. Pal writes that "the fact that the paintings portray both Hindu and Buddhist subject matter clearly indicates that the artists were professional people and were patronized by the Hindus and Buddhists alike."[60] It would appear that in the seventeenth century a particular style of painting developed in Bhaktapur as several paintings from there are executed in the same manner.

Today one still finds mural paintings executed around the doorways of private houses. In general these paintings are made at the time the building of a house is completed or when a marriage is celebrated in the house. If the persons involved are Buddhists, one will find represented the five Tathāgatas and other auspicious Buddhist emblems; if the house-family is Śaivite, one will find Gaṇeś, Surya, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma (see illustration 106). Mention has been made in other publications of the eight favorable signs above doorways and the water-pots and other motifs on either side of house-entrances. There is however another type of mural painting. It is to be found on house facades, generally at least two metres above street-level, and represents such subjects as the five Jinas, the *aṣṭamaṅgala,* the Prajñāpāramitā, the green Tārā, and Svayambhunāth. The paintings are generally executed on medallions of mud, straw and plaster stuck to the facade, and not on the surface of the brick walls. The main colours used are blue, green yellow and white. Representations of the Five Tathāgatas or the Five Protectors often portray them seated in a single row.

The painters did not draw entirely from memory or from *sādhana* learnt by heart: they had sketch-books which served as memory-aids. A sketchbook apparently dated 1453 A.D. (555 N.S.) was published recently by Lowry[61] who considers it the earliest known example from Nepal. There are captions in it in Newari alongside the sketches, which give the names of faces and figures. We must admit that to us the style of the drawings does conflict with the date given in the inscription and indeed we are of the opinion that the sketch-book has been formed by sewing together elements of two if not three separate sketching note-books. The most Newar part of the publication seems to us to be part C (p. 116) which is not described and is reproduced on a scale requiring a magnifying glass. Part A seems to have been made by a Newar working for Tibetans - the iconography is Tibetan - Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa and Milarepa are not usually represented in Newar painting unless ordered by foreigners. Does one find Arhats in fifteenth century Newar *paṭa*?

Another sketch book, used by Viṣṇu Bhahadur Citrakar of Bhaktapur is of special interest, as
it is still consulted when making mural paintings, masks, the painting of *ratha,* etc. Viṣṇu Bahadur
who is, perhaps, sixty years of age, says he inherited it from his great grandfather. So the
manuscript may be 100 or 150 years old. It would seem to be a copy of a previous, older one. The
painter who owns it holds the monopoly of all important orders from the *khya pi naya,* who
presides over the *guṭhi* of the Bhaktapur citrakar, and is considered the best painter in the town. He 107
was commissioned to make and paint the masks of the Nava Durgā, as well as those of the Buddha
Dīpaṅkara which are taken out in procession at the Banra *Jātrā* on the 13th or 14th day of the dark
fortnight of Bhadra (August-September) and paint the eyes of Bhairava on the *ratha* used in the
Bisket *Jātrā.* Previously he was in charge of the maintenance of the mural paintings in the Taleju



110. Line illustrations from a Newar manuscript containing sketch-plans of the eight forms of stūpa.

temple. The *khya pi naya* [62] is elected by five *nayo* (leaders) of the guthi and presides over the association of the citrakars for a period which must not exceed seven years and he is chosen for his professional qualifications and no account is taken of his 'seniority'. In general the citrakar - who are a clean caste - are Buddhists. Despite the fact that they are of low caste, as are moreover all Newar artisans, they receive the *dīkṣa,* the ritual initiation reserved generally for the higher castes. According to Brahmin informants the *Citrakar* are accorded this *dīkṣa* because it is they who paint temple interiors where normally only the initiated have the right to penetrate.

The note-book contains black and white sketches of divinities: *Aṣṭa Māṭṛkā, Bhairava,* Gaṇeśa, 101
Varuṇa *maṇḍala* and auspicious Buddhist signs which are painted on walls around door-ways. Along- 102
side each sketch is a caption in Newari with the divinity's name and the colour in which it should be painted. The names are often abbreviated and not very well written; in point of fact the *citrakar* was practically illiterate.

It is not without interest to recall Snellgrove's translation of a Nepalese manuscript of the *Hevajra Tantra* which gives instructions for the painting of Hevajra. The work should be done "by a painter who belongs to our tradition, by a yogin of our tradition, this fearful painting should be done, and it should be painted with the five colours reposing in a human skull and with a brush made from the hair of a corpse. She who is to spin the thread and weave the canvas should also be of our tradition and united in its sacramental power. (It should be painted under these circumstances) in a lonely spot at noon on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, in a ferocious state of mind from the drinking of some wine, with the body naked and adorned with the bone accoutrements; one should eat the sacrament in its foul and impure form, having placed one's own *mudra* at one's left side, she who is beautiful, compassionate, well endowed with youth and beauty, adorned with flowers and beloved of her master". [63] It should be stressed that a yogin as well as a citrakar is apt to paint such a figure.

We have given little information concerning techniques of painting. To base statements concerning techniques employed centuries ago on those which can be observed today is not satisfactory. The analysis of ancient pigments requires to be undertaken: for such pigments are practically never used these days. Colours manufactured commercially in India are commonly employed. Today the demand from foreigners and tourists is for copies of Tibetan *thang-kas.*

Notes

1. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1949, vol. I, p. 270. G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala,* London, Rider and Company, 1961.
2. G. Tucci, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 270.
3. M. Lalou, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes (Paṭa),* Paris, P. Geuthner, 1930, p. 3. Stella Kramrisch, 'Nepalese paintings' in *JISOA,* vol. I, no. 2, 1933, p. 136ff.
4. G. Tucci, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 271.
5. D. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himālaya,* Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1957, chap. "The Rite of consecration" p. 76: "The *maṇḍala* is the sphere of the divinity with whom the practiser identifies himself, thus exercising the power which pertains to the divinity. The acquisition of buddhahood was merely a special application of a general magical practice, for there were *maṇḍalas* of all sorts and sizes".
6. S. Lévi, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 160.
7. M. Shepherd Slusser, 'The wooden sculptures of Nepal, temple images and carved walls, in *The Arts of Asia,* 1974, September-October, p. 51-57.
8. G. Tucci, *op. cit.,* vol I, p. 270.
9. S. Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal,* The Asia Society, Vienna, 1964, p. 47-48.
10. D. Snellgrove, and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,* Vol. I, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1977, p. 16, note 17.
11. A. Stein, *Serindia,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, vol. IV, pl. LXXXVII, pl. CIV, pl. LXVII banners with donors.
12. G. Tucci, *op. cit.* one finds the most complete documentation on these Tibetan paintings: for example in pl. 13, 32, the men and women form a single group and the donors are not spread out along the lower part.
13. P. Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum,' in *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India,* no. 10, (1967) p. 3.
14. P. Pal, *Nepal, where the Gods are Young,* New York, Asia House Gallery Publications, pl. 81: Viṣṇu *Maṇḍala,* description p. 132.
15. P. Pal, *loc. cit.,* p. 131: "Brahmanical *maṇḍalas* are quite rare and this example (i.e. Viṣṇu *Maṇḍala* dated 1420) is especially important because it is the earliest dated specimen known".
16. P. Pal, *loc. cit.,* p. 3. R. O. Meisezahl, 'Smaśānavidhi des Luyi, '*Zentral Asiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn,* Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 9-129. G. Tucci; *Indo Tibetica,* vol. III, part II, I templi del Tibet et il loro simbolismo artistico, chap. Gli otto cimeteri nella letteratura liturgica, p. 173-186.
17. S. Kramrisch, *loc. cit.,* pl. 98, note p. 152.
18. S. Lévi, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 157.
19. S. Lévi, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 159.

20. S. Kramrisch, *loc. cit.*, p. 145. The author writes as follows: "The painting, according to its inscription, represents Amoghapāśa of the Mahabhuta temple in Bhatgaon. The image is flanked by two goddesses, Tārā and Bhṛkutī on Amoghapāśa's left and by two gods, Sudhanakumara and Hayagriva on the right. Flying Devaputra in flower like, flaming, three lobed niches, appear above on either side, next to the sun and moon".
P. Pott, 'The Amoghapāśa from Bhatgaon and its *Parivara*' in *JISOA* vol. IV New Series, p. 63-66. The author determines that the date of this *paṭa* is 1532 A.D. and not 1436. It was painted during the reign of Pranamalla, one of the first kings of Bhatgaon (1524-1533).
21. P. Pal, *loc. cit.*, pl. 19, p. 75: *Maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara dated 1867. Another *maṇḍala* of Amoghapāśa is in the Chowni Museum and is dated 1875 A.D.
22. J. Brough, 'Nepalese Buddhist Rituals' in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 12 (no. 3 et 4), 1948, p. 672.
23. J. Brough, *loc. cit.*, note 2, p. 672. B. H. Hodgson, 'Notices of Languages, Literature and Religion of the Bauddhas' in *Asiatic Researches* XVI (1828) Calcutta, p. 409-478. The author, when describing the *Aṣṭami-vrata* for Amoghapāśa pointed out that other divinities were also worshipped at the same time. "In the present case the principal person propitiated is Amoghapāśa apparently the same with Svayambhunāth; but prayers are made and offerings are addressed to all the personages of the Bauddha Pantheon and to a great number of the divinities of Hindus, especially to the terrific forms of Śiva and Śākti and to all the Bhutas or spirits of ill, and the Yoginīs and Dakiṇīs . . . " (p. 474).
24. R. O. Meisezahl, 'Amoghapāśa: Some Nepalese representations and their Vajrayānic Aspects', in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. XXVI, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 455-497. See in particular p. 477-481.
25. L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, p. 125.
26. P. Pal, 'The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeṣvara' in *Oriental Art* New Series, vol. XIII, Spring, 1967, p. 26.
27. R. O. Meisezahl, *op. cit.*, p. 462-463.
28. 'The *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī*, The Early Sanskrit Manuscript of the Reiunji, critically edited and translated' in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XVII, no. 1-4; Tokyo, Sophia University, 1962, p. 265-328.
29. The other eight texts are the *Daśabhūmi-sūtra*, the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, the *Suvarnaprābhasa-sūtra*, the *Lalita vistara*, the *Gaṇḍavyuha*, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Guhya-samāja tantra*.
30. 'Kuan-yin as Savior of Men: Illustration of the Twenty-fifth chapter of the Lotus Sūtra in Chinese painting' in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIII, no. 1-2, Ascona, 1971, p. 39-74. For Far Eastern interpretations of the *Sūtra* one should consult Leon Hurvitz 'The Lotus Sutra in East Asia: A review of *Hokke Shiso*' in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. XXIX, Los Angelos, 1970-1971, p. 697-762. Hurvitz has recently published an English translation of Kumarajiva's Chinese version of the *Sūtra*, in which the twenty-fifth chapter corresponds to the twenty-fourth of the Sanskrit text. Translations from the Oriental Classics, Records of Civilisation, Sources and Studies, XCIV, Columbia University, New York, 1976.
31. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXI, Oxford, 1884, p. 406-418. However the best available translation, in our opinion, is that to be found in M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, p. 28-36.
32. *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1931, p. 51.
33. J. Brough, *loc. cit.*, p. 673. R. L. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 229 writes: "The first rite consists of dedicating one or more model *caitya* daily till the number comes up to a hundred thousand. The models may be of cow dung, clay, sandstone, or metal according to the means of dedicator. The directions for the rite had been originally given by Vipasyi to a prince named Pradipaketu. When the above rite is performed for a month from the first of Śravana (July-August), with the accompaniment of the music from a golden horn and other musical instruments, it is called *sringabhen*".
34. D. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, p. 64-66 "The five Buddhas".
35. J. Lowry, *Tibetan Art*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1973 p. 47.
36. S. Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 150, plate 93.
37. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, pl. 47, p. 83.
38. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1905, vol. II, p. 86 in the *sādhana* the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijaya is described thus: "is blotted in the hollow of a sacred edifice: she is white, has three faces, three eyes and eight arms; she is in a sitting position, her legs firmly crossed in the manner of the Buddhas; her front face is white; that on the right is yellow and that on the left blue and she presses her lips with the hollow of her teeth; in her four right hands she holds the universal thunderbolt, the Buddha Amitabha on a red lotus, the arrow and makes the gesture of charity; with her four left hands she holds the bow, the noose, with her first finger raised she makes the gesture indicating absence of fear, and holds the vase of abundance; Vairocana is seated in her tiara."
39. P. Pal; The Bhīmaratha Rite and Nepali Art, *Oriental Art*, Autumn 1977, p. 176-189.
40. P. Pal, *loc. cit.*, p. 185.
41. For descriptions of Svayambunāth see: S. Lévi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 306; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Bombay, D. Taraporevala Sons, 5th edition, 1965, p. 163; H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal.* London, W. H. Allen, 1880, vol. II, p. 219-246; D. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, p. 95-98. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*; vol. I, p. 56-57.
42. Th. Riccardi, 'Some preliminary remarks on a Newari painting of Svayambhunāth', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 93, no. 3, July-September 1973, p. 335-340 who first published this *paṭa* gives the dates of 1594 A.D. (715 NS) or 1604 A.D. (725 N.S.) p. 338. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, in publishing the same *paṭa* gives the date of 1565 A.D.
43. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, p. 263-268.
44. P. Pal, *ibid.*, p. 178.
45. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 99; "Among the images of Avalokiteśvara, standing and in human form, the two Nepalese idols of the miniatures I, 6 and II, 4 should be put in a special category. They have in common that they are both - exceptionally - red: this divergence and this harmony can not be purely accidental. It is clear that, in Nepal, the red colouring of Amitābha had passed to his Dhyani-Boddhisattva. Moreover both are well known. That in Mss. Add. 1643 is no less than Avalokiteśvara of the Svayambunāth hillock, of which we have already spoken above".
46. D. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
47. H. A. Oldfield, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 220.
48. H. A. Oldfield, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 228;
49. P. H. Pott, 'The Amoghapāśa from Bhatgaon and its Parivara', in 8. *JISOA* New Series, vol. IV, p. 63-65.

50. P. H. Pott, *Birmanie, Corée, Tibet*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1963, Coll. Art dans le Monde, p. 169.
51. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 220-224.
Ananta Priyadevi is mentioned in the inscription at the bottom of the *paṭa* illustrated in colour plate. This inscription, written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Newari reads as follows:

> *nepāli sambate ṭasmin yuga basu munibhi samyuti pauṣ māse pakṣe kṛṣṇe suramye śravana parigate pañca daśyāṃ saśāṅke*
> *āgya mālāya samyak pitu rakṣilagure sri byatī pāta yoge dattaṃ dānaṃ tulākhyam tribhuvan biditaṃ cakravartendra*
> *mallaḥ// mātā yasya praśastā narapati kulajā cāgragaṇayāṃ satināṃ tātaḥ śrimat pratāpaḥ kṣitipati tilaka suryabaṃsaika*
> *candraḥ // bhaktyā tainaiba dattam rajata maya mahādānamādhyam tulakṣyam mukta baidurya kārt svara bara sahitaṃ*
> *prītaye sri bhavānyāh // ek svasti śrī śrī śrī svestha devata tareju pritina sastra śāśtra saṃgitādi sakala vidhyā pāraga*
> *mahārājādhirāj nepaleṣor vidagdha cuḍamaṇi sakalarāja cakrādhiṣor śrī śrī rāja rājendra kabindra jayapratāpamalla deva*
> *parama bhattāraka sapatni srimat bihāra mahānagariyā rājkumārī mahārāni jagajjanani śrī śrī ānanta priyādevi*
> *thvasanemhasaputra mahārājādhirāj nepaleṣor rāja rājendra mahārājkumar sakala bhupāla satru mardana śrī śrī*
> *jayacakrabatendra devasa tulāpuruṣa mahādāna yāṅga jure sambat 784 pauṣa māse kṛṣṇapakṣe amāvā syanti thithau*
> *śravana nakṣatre byatipāte yoge bhaumabara thvakunu // sunanaṃ thva patibāhāra senakarasā koṭi pañca māhapataka*
> *rākā / nidāna yānjāna bhina karasa koṭi śivaliṅga sthāpana yāṅga punya rākajuro* / The painting therefore portrays an
> event which took place in 1664 A.D. and which was already known of through the Taleju pillar inscription of 784 N.S.
> Pratāpa Malla is accorded here his customary epithet of *kabīndra*, "Indra among the poets". The statement at the end
> of the inscription is something of a cliché: "Whoever treats this *patibāhāra* badly will be guilty of commiting ten million
> times the five great sins; whoever preserves it carefully will acquire merits equivalent to those recompensing the
> establishment of ten million *liṅgas*."

52. D. Shimkhada, 'Nepali Paintings and the Rajput style', in *Arts of Asia*, September-October, 1974, p. 38-43.
53. P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal. A study in art and religion*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n.d., p. 99.
54. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
55. J. Eracle, 'La tentation du roi Rukmāṃgada', in *Bulletin Annuel du Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève*, no. 13 (1970), p. 15-33.
56. M. Singh, *L'Art de l'Himalaya*, Paris, U.N.E.S.C.O., 1968, p. 208-216.
57. The version of this struggle in the *Skanda Purāṇa* has been translated recently by W. Doniger O'Flaherty in *Hindu Myths*, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 241-242.
58. Moti Chandra, 'Two illustrated *Devīmāhātmya* Manuscripts from Nepal' in *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. II, Bombay, 1971, p. 9; see also P. Pal, 'Paintings from Nepal . . . ', p. 5.
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61. J. Lowry, 'A fifteenth century sketchbook' in *Essais sur l'Art du Tibet*, Paris, J. Maisonneuve, 1977, p. 83 - 118.
62. G. Toffin, 'Etudes sur les Néwar de la Vallée de Kathmandu: Guthi, funerailles et castes' in *L'Ethnographie* no. 2 (1975) p. 206-225.
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An Approach to Newar Style

The reader may wonder why we have chosen to devote such attention to the Malla period. There are in fact several reasons which commanded this choice. Stone sculptures from the Licchavi period do exist and they have been well described by Pratapaditya Pal; but there is no religious edifice in stone, no building which, in its present form, dates from Licchavi times. Even the true date of the 'Aśoka' *stūpas* surrounding Patan can not yet be fixed with certainty. The climate of Nepal and termites have destroyed all ancient architecture in wood; and if there ever was an early 'pagoda-style' architecture in wood it has disappeared for ever. Most of the monuments to be seen in the valley today date in fact from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

We have seen how the Newar kingdoms, consolidated in their religious and social foundations by Jayasthiti Malla and his successors, were destined to endure up to the Gorkha Conquest and to shape many aspects of Nepalese life up to the present time. These kingdoms nourished several centuries of remarkable artistic production. For instance, the Malla period is the great period of Newar painting. No *paṭa* are known which are prior to the 12th century. From the 14th to 16th centuries Newar painters are at their best. By the 17th century, there is already a certain falling-off in standards: painted work is less accomplished than in the previous centuries. Again, when we turn to bronze work, we find that the majority of the good quality 'bronze' statues date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. There are, it is true, a few bronze pieces which, for stylistic reasons, have been dated by experts to the 9th and 10th centuries. But such pieces are rare and we do not have enough of them to know to what extent they are truly representative of the output at the dates which are attributed to them. It is only in the eleventh century that we find a number of statues dated by inscriptions. As for wooden sculpture - struts or free-standing figures - there is no piece known which is earlier than the thirteenth century; and the best examples date from the thirteenth through to the sixteenth centuries. These facts indicate that the place which the Malla period occupies in the history of Newar art is capital and justify the space we have accorded to it.

The earliest stone sculptures attributed to the Licchavi period have a perfection which is not maintained at a later date, and this is despite the persistence of Licchavi models over many hundreds of years. The stone sculptures at Dhvaka-bāhā, the Viṣṇu at Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ, the Mayadevi in the Chowni Museum were not equalled in the Malla period. But during the Malla period new developments occurred. One thinks of the stone animals at temple-entrances, of the developments in water architecture, of the 'portraits' of worshippers in stone and in bronze, of the blossoming of Vajrayāna iconography in stone and wood and bronze, of the diversity of types of rest-houses and public-halls, of the admirable proportions of the palaces and the temples.

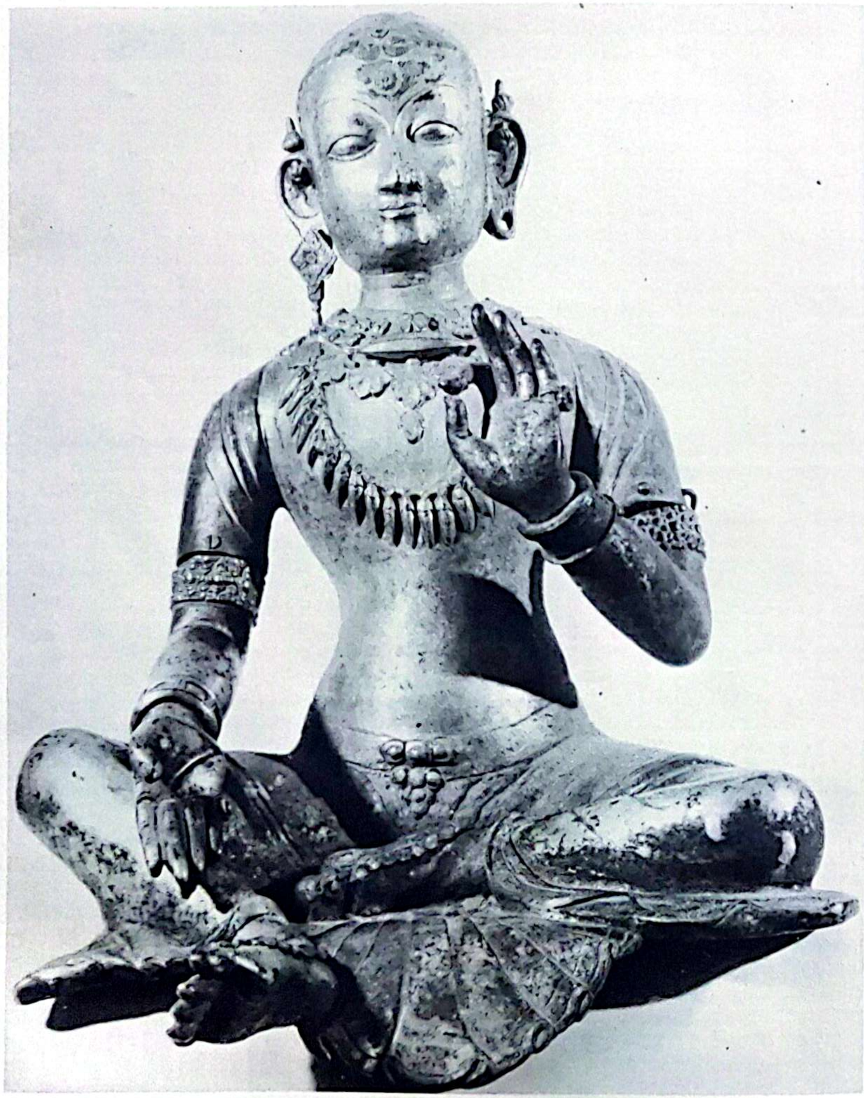
The valley of Nepal is a cross-roads on what was one of the main routes of commerce and culture between India and Central Asia. Indian influence, and in particular the influence of eastern India, was strong in Nepal from Licchavi times up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tibetan influences in Nepal are late and it is in the sixteenth century that it becomes difficult to distinguish Tibetan from Newar sculptures. There is no reason for confusing Newar and Tibetan bronzes between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. Reference is sometimes made to Chinese influences in Newar art, but in our opinion the evidence for such influence is most flimsy. Socially, architecturally and religiously, if the Newars were influenced by China, this has taken place through the filter of Tibet and what Newars saw in Lhasa. The prevailing historical influence on the Newars has therefore been Indian. What is fascinating is that, despite the weight of this influence, they created an art which clearly bears their own signature. Perhaps they never travelled much in the parts of India adjacent to the Terai and were never inspired directly by the example of Indian statues and paintings. Certainly, after the conquest of northern India by the Muslims, the Buddhist Newar naturally turned to Tibet for spiritual nourishment; for craftsmen too, who seem to have executed Hindu and Buddhist works with like enthusiasm, the market for their talents was in the north rather than the south. In India itself competent talents were not lacking. While the *sādhana* used by Vajrayāna artists in different countries were often the same, the artistic productions which they inspired in different countries were not always - iconometry apart - identical. Local physical features keep breaking through the strict outline of the Indian model. A Kashmiri work is easily recognisable from a Tibetan one, a Chinese from a Newar one.

David Snellgrove has recently discussed the use of the terminology which should be applied to manifestations of Indian influence along the Central Asian trade-routes. He suggests that the terms 'Nepalese' and 'Tibeto-Nepalese' should not be used to refer to cases in which Tibetan craftsmen have continued Indian traditions. He argues that the past role of Kashmir, which has not, today, preserved its earlier Hindu-Buddhist heritage, is obscured and often mis-represented. While agreeing wholeheartedly with his preference for the term 'Indo-Tibetan' we would emphasize that references to 'Nepalese' craftsmen in Central Asia can surely only apply to Newars. The idea of a Chetri or a Khas Brahmin from the valley making his artistic fortune in Central Asia seems quite unrealistic. Much terminological obscurity has, in fact, been caused by a loose use of 'Nepalese' by authors who in fact meant 'Newars'. We know that the Newars have, for long centuries, inter-married with Tibetans, which Chetris and Brahmins do not do. Even today the musical instruments used in Tibetan-style monasteries in the northern areas of Nepal are ordered from Newar craftsmen in Patan.

While culture-contacts between Tibet and the Valley have been frequent and are long-established, it is not always possible, because of the absence of serious research, to describe them clearly. For instance we know little about the influence of the various Hindu and Buddhist schools of religion in Nepal on local artistic production. We are only just beginning to grasp something of the relationships between sects and the paintings they inspired in Tibet itself; and many more students are working on Tibetan materials than on Newari texts and manuscripts. Whoever, in these conditions, tries to formulate general comparisons between Tibetan and Newar statuary is assailed with doubts. Was the Buddhist pantheon in Kathmandu Valley really the same as that of the Tibetans of, say, Lhasa, and if so at what periods? It is doubtful if we will ever be able to answer such a question in a thoroughly satisfactory manner for the statistical *use* of a pantheon is something quite different from the identification *a posteriori* of its component members. It seems to us that in local Newar production one does not find the portraits of ecclesiastical dignitaries which are quite frequent in Tibetan statuary; Dpal-ldan lha-mo, we would say, was perhaps less frequently made in Nepal than in Tibet; in Newar paintings, monks and their doings occupy a much less significant place than they do in Tibetan *thang-kas*; Vasudhara seems to have been much more popular in Nepal than in Tibet. These are just impressions which one registers when handling some of the materials; at the least, they open up perspectives for future research in which we hope that the blanket-words Nepal and Tibet will be used with greater precision than in past works.

Thus far we have only spoken of craftsmen; but before concluding we would like to return to a point made earlier in these pages: all major art in Nepal is the result of a collaboration between craftsmen and kings. Only kings had the means to command monumental constructions, to provide artisans with regular employment, to finance temple festivals and state ceremonials, to inaugurate processions and dances. Art was a royal investment; and if there is practically no major art throughout long stretches of the Nepalese hills - the country of the Rai and the Limbu, for example - this is not because the raw materials were lacking but because there was no Hindu king in these areas. The royal investment made the gods more willing to descend and manifest their favour to the kingdom: the texts insist that gods have a weakness for perfectly executed supports. The statuary within and around the temples had also a didactic function: it was an exhibition of the Establishment's powers. At the great festivals, organised and timed by the palace, the king, his subjects, their ancestors and their gods are united in spectacles to which architecture provides the back-drop. The gods bear

Indian names; but they are the king's gods; and his Brahmin chaplain annointed him "the king of Nepal" and not a vassal of India. The social as well as the religious impact of such scenarios, financed by the king's treasury and produced by his Brahmanical counsellors, was such that they established and perpetuated the social hierarchy. When the palace ceased to subsidise such ceremonials, decadence soon set in; artisans no longer enjoyed royal patronage, whether direct or indirect; and the social hierarchy itself shook loose from its antique model.



111. A Boddhisattva. 16th-17th century. H. 40 cm. Collection E. de Rouvre, Paris.

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